After the War —What?

JAMES H. BAKER

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1918

THE STRATFORD COMPANY, Publishers

BOSTON

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The STRATFORD CO., Publishers
Boston, Mass.

The Alpine Press, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

To my son, and all our boys, *over there,* who are
defending rights sacred to all peoples, and
who will play a great part in
the world of tomorrow.

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I

Introduction

Revelations of the War

We are facing a new world. The War has made startling revelations, has opened up far-extended visions. Philosophies, national ideals, social justice, forms of government, the very nature of our civilization, are judged by a newly enlightened mind and conscience. Some verdicts have already been reached, and they are against pagan ethics, the doctrine of "chosen peoples," national aggression, and enslaving of defenseless races—survivals of a semi-barbaric age. The decision is for justice and good will, democracy, and the rights of the weak. We see wider fields of cooperation, and the supreme need to save human energy for the constructive work of the world. The new world will not come in a day, but, under the impulse of fresh ideas and motives, the movement will

be rapid. There have been crusades, revolutions, reformations, and eras of new thought; but we have a world crusade in behalf of rights sacred to all peoples, a reformation, not of church or creeds, but of the spirit of humanity, an enlightenment that will change the course of history.

A Half Century Ago

I sometimes turn to the recollections of my childhood, on a farm in New England. The country was at peace, and, in the main, the whole world. No great questions of capital and labor, of social betterment, or of general progress reached us. Slavery was the only vital issue. We accepted the world as it was, subject, of course, to minor changes and reconstructions, but did not apprehend serious disturbances of the established order. Whatever was, was right, or at any rate inevitable. We went to church and worshipped the God of our fathers. We read the New York Tribune, revered it as a kind of secondary revelation, and took Horace Greeley as our prophet.

A Period of Change

Then came the Civil War with all it meant for national unity and human freedom, with the light that it threw on the ethics of our democracy. At about this time the forces of change began to move more rapidly. This was due in part to the doctrine of evolution, and to the awakening and organization of labor. People began to doubt the value of many rules of life, the truth of items in the moral code, and the sacredness of established religious creeds. They began to doubt the wisdom and efficiency of government, the justice of social conditions, and the aims, methods, and results of education. Science became the pioneer of thought, and evolution the dominant philosophy. Men were turning to reality and truth and to the law of progress.

The World Conflict

Then came the World War, gigantic and frightful—a war bringing untold devastation and physical suffering, a cry of

anguish which should reach highest heaven and will echo throughout the ages. On the surface the comity of peoples had never seemed better, industry and commerce were prosperous, all the arts of peace were flourishing. In a day we saw the overwhelming cataclysm—one nation after another swept into the abyss of war as by a fateful force. If the Civil War, localized as it was, wrought a change of political ideas, what must be the effect in view of this world disaster! No wonder we are asking—What is wrong with our civilization? Why have the forces of reason and religion and morality and education proved so ineffective? Is the nature of man hopelessly savage? What can be done to make the world safe? Are there compensations for the terrible sacrifice? What are the coming problems? If, before, there was everywhere an unrest, a searching for new truth, a seeking for human betterment, these tendencies were given a tremendous impulse by this soul-stirring conflict of the mightiest and most civilized nations. It has become evident that all minor issues

must be treated in view of the big problems which have been forced to the front.

Before this War, we only half understood great questions, were mainly indifferent to them, and held prophets without honor. The conscience of the peoples was dormant. Democracy was "muddling along" but half aware of its real nature and mission. We were dreaming pleasant but idle dreams, only disturbed now and then by the clamor of class conflicts. In four years we have lived centuries. We sense as never before world problems and spiritual values. As if from a height of vision we comprehend philosophies, ideals, institutions, and duties. The true spirit of humanity appears, freedom stands clearly defined, the soul is strengthened to meet supreme tests. Change has reached everywhere, "with equal foot knocks at every door." That the world has awaked and looks with clear eyes on the devastated field of civilization, and has made a high resolve, in the name of eternal right and justice, to restore and better and guard it, is the one great compensation for the in-

describable calamity that has befallen the race of man.

We had read mad philosophies, filled with the doctrine of might, picturing as hero the super "blond beast," preaching the ethics of the jungle, and deriding the Christian virtues as weakness and foolishness. But we did not understand, until we saw the brutal philosophy in action, until we beheld a nation, inspired by its teaching, enter upon a career of conquest. The two forces in this war, aligned against each other, in character and motives and aims, are as opposite as the poles, differ by the space of the whole heavens. You choose between the God of Might and the God of Right. This is not a judgment in the heat of battle. We believe that events which always work toward final justice, and the verdict of history, when the evidence is all in, will confirm it. In the world opinion the judgment is right, and professors and pulpits in a land dominated by militarism can camouflage nothing else into its semblance. The new world spirit repudiates absolutism and the State trans-

formed into a monstrous entity. It repudiates imperialism, aggression, dishonor, savagery. It represents the international mind, the brotherhood of man. It stands for the rights of small nations, help for the weak and backward, equality of opportunity. It would unite the dismembered fragments of nations, free the enslaved, restore the conquered, and grant to every people to work out their destiny according to their own genius. The new world spirit means, not the extension of dominion and power, but of ideas and cooperative effort; it means a league of nations under law and right. It will work toward real democracy, secure social justice, vitalize education, and enter upon a new era of peace and construction.

The Moral Test

Any man who, in this day of anguish, of extremest hopes and fears, has not a more active sense of life and its duties, of all questions of humanity, is not moving

with the stream of events, but is caught in some eddy of ignorance or indifference or moral stupidity. The times are judging nations and institutions and the temper and attitude of men. Not only military force but soul strength is being tested. Wrong is sifted from right. It is our privilege, not only to play our part, whether in giving our mite or offering the supreme sacrifice, but to engage in the "research magnificent"—according to our power and opportunity, to help plan and make a better civilization.

We entered the war, in the spirit of humanity, to "safeguard our national soul." Henceforth we are involved in all world movements, and shall play an important part in the affairs of nations; we may be a deciding factor in the final settlements of this struggle. We shall be strong, not only by force of arms, but by our ideals of international rights and universal justice. We need the will to accomplish victory, a grasp of great problems, and the moral power to unite the nations and bring about permanent peace. We need the wis-

dom to meet, in a broad and just spirit, the coming social and political issues in our own democracy.

Plan and Purpose of This Study

This is not written as history, political science, or sociology. It is an attempt to set in order some of the ideas growing out of the war, to draw some inferences and note the shadows of coming events. The often repeated "will be" is no more than forecasting natural results under certain conditions and influences. We well know that violent and unexpected reactions may make foolishness of all predictions. Even so, ideas will persist and in time will be factors in political and social change.

We need not go for references beyond the "papers," variously colored, of the warring governments, daily and monthly records, current magazines and reviews, some social studies, and certain significant facts in history. We are making history, and the best minds in all countries are setting forth facts, causes, and results.

They are diagnosing and prescribing for defects of vision and insanities of nations.

This is no hymn of hate, but the major reasons which have set the world against one nation must be frankly stated; only in this way can current history be understood. Even if the aims and policies of the Central Powers were right, the general abhorrence of them is a psychological fact, and is the cause of fateful events. So far as hostile criticism is true and just, the influence, if any, will be for good, and not the least to the peoples who stand before the court of world opinion. The times compel the exposing of all national evils, the threshing out of all national grievances. Germany in time will read its own history in a new light.

Isolated as we are from the Old World and its history, we should not have entered the conflict except as a clear duty—duty to defend a cause greater than the interests of any one people. We view this as a struggle between might and right, a struggle to be finally ended, whether in one year or a hundred years, only in the triumph of

reason and justice over brute force. Upon the decision depends the fate of civilization.

The following chapters discuss the possible effects of the war on Humane Ideals, Democracy (including Socialism and Labor), Efficiency, and Obligation to the State. The coming changes are thus classed as ethical, political, economic, and social. Other problems, equally important and involved in the main issues of the day, come under the heads of Peace, Constructive Work, and Education.

II

Humane Ideals

German Philosophy

The world is in arms against the German philosophy—the recent philosophy expressed in action, that of the disciples of Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardi and their like. What is this teaching that has become abhorrent to most peoples and has united them in a common purpose to set the earth free from its influence? None of the great questions which we are facing today can be properly examined until this is fully answered. This philosophy is Anti-Christian, exalts the State, places might above right, advocates wars of aggression and conquest, and tends to brutalize the character of a people.

First, this philosophy is Anti-Christian; it holds to a tribal God, and makes Him the leader of a chosen people. In spirit it even turns toward the Northern gods,

and the heroes of Valhalla, and sets up anew the religion of brute courage and might. It is a reversion to the ancient type of savagery and bloodshed, a revival of the spirit of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon. It rejects the benevolent Christian precepts as weakness and impotence, and advocates ruthless will power embodied in a warrior state. Its symbol is not the "Red Cross Knight, but the Robber Baron." Second, this philosophy exalts the state. The individual is merged into an abstract entity, non-human and supra-human. The "Universal Will" is expressed in institutions, especially in the state, and preeminently in the most powerful state. The state is above morality, a law to itself. Germany is superior from every point of view; hence it has a mission to conquer and possess. Third, this philosophy places might above right; it disregards humanity, worships power and success, and creates a religion of valor. The superior race should make subservient the inferior and the weak. Fourth, this philosophy advocates wars of aggression and conquest.

The state should be organized as a military force; war is an end in itself; terrorism and brutality are justifiable as means of victory. Fifth, this philosophy develops the aggressive side of national character. Naturally, a people to whom these doctrines appeal would be found less humanized than other nations which have been more influenced by both the beneficent aspects of Christianity and the culture of the Renaissance, would be lacking in "mellowed humanity." Naturally, so far as affected by these doctrines, their civilization would be of the swash-buckler type, their culture "scientific barbarity," and the national spirit "a moral anachronism, devoid of international conscience." Naturally, the effect would be to dethrone reason, and give sway to egomania and fanaticism. Prussia retains the spirit of a past age, is educated to glory in war, and is intoxicated with former victories. Prussia leads politically and Prussianism has spread throughout Germany. The logical result follows—the military state, inspired by the Will to Power, and, urged

on by the economic needs, enters on a war for commercial and territorial expansion and world influence.

There is no doubt that German thought, from Nietzsche to a score of minor philosophers of today who are more or less his disciples, has contributed, consciously or unconsciously, to the mental and moral attitude of the German people. I do not mean that it is formally adopted by a majority, but it has more or less penetrated the common consciousness. I recall that Ambassador Gerard says that he never found a German of the ruling class who had read anything written by Treitschke, Nietzsche or Bernhardi; that Tannenberg, expressing only the aspirations of the Pan-Germans, presenting concrete positions which anyone can understand, had more readers and a greater following. Tannenberg's dream was of extended acquisitions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America. The question of the influence of these authors' writings, much or little, is not so important; at least they were prophetic of

the present spirit of German leadership and of the thought and character of the people; it may be a case of "pre-established harmony." Nietzsche, so often quoted, is not easily interpreted; but, "whenever his teaching is clear, it is aggressively inhuman." He is in part responsible for the growth of Anti-Christian sentiment in his country. Treitschke is more easily and safely interpreted. He was for the state and power and war, and his philosophy has many followers in the universities. The state is an entity, the superior state has a duty to impose its virtues on inferior peoples. Bernhardi is frankly outspoken in favor of war, and frightful war, urging it as a right and a duty for national aggrandizement. "Millions of Germans have recourse to this ethics of power. The rank and file in Germany, as well as the aristocracy, are full of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest and the expediency of power." One prominent cause assigned for the war is the German spirit due to certain philosophers and military writers—a spirit especially represented by a large

percentage of state officials, junkers and military leaders. The recent utterances of philosophers, clergymen, and teachers are full of Germany's divine right and mission of conquest. The Emperor, statesmen, publicists, and journalists proclaim purposes and aims affecting even the freedom of the Western World.

It seems proper to quote here some passages from the writers referred to. Probably they do not fairly represent the full scope of their teachings, but they do represent what has contributed to the national policies and has been put in practice by the political and military leaders.

NIETZSCHE. [His philosophy is radically Anti-Christian.]

"Will to Life had to be intensified into unconditioned Will to Power. Active sympathy for the weak is more dangerous to the human race than any crime. The noble type of man feels himself to be the determiner of values. Egoism is of the essence of the noble soul. When your soul has become great, it will become wanton. The evil impulses are just as expedient, race-conserving, and indispensable as the good.

To demand of strength that it should not manifest itself as strength is as absurd as to demand of weakness that it should manifest itself as strength. Deep in the nature of all these noble races there lurks unmistakably the beast of prey, the blond beast, lustfully roving in search of booty and victory. The fundamental belief [in a good and healthy aristocracy] must be precisely that society ought not to exist for its own sake, but only as a basis and scaffolding on which a selected race of beings may be able to elevate themselves. We owe it to Napoleon that we have entered upon the classical age of war, of scientific and yet popular war, on the grandest scale. We shall love peace as a means to new wars. I say unto you it is the good war that halloweth every cause. Men shall be trained for war and women for the solace of the warrior. Be robbers and conquerors." [Nietzscheism, as expressed by K. F. Wolff in the following sentences.] "There are two kinds of races, master races and inferior races. Political rights belong to the master races alone, and can only be won by war."

Treitschke. "The end-all and be-all of the state is power. Its highest moral duty is to increase its power. God will see to it that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race. The nation should be looked upon as a vast military engine. The whole nation should march with the force of an armed regiment. The sin against the holy ghost is the sin of military

impotence. All the state's resources exist first for war — manufacturers, bankers, physicians, gymnasia, women."

BERNHARDI. "The state is a law unto itself. The state is sole judge of the morality of its own action. It is, in fact, above morality. Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. The state's highest moral duty is to increase its power. War is a biological necessity of the first importance. War is in itself a good thing. Huge armaments are in themselves desirable. Right [between nations] is respected so far only as it is conformable with advantage. The first and most essential duty of every great civilized people is to prepare for war on a scale commensurate with its political needs. The state is justified in making conquests whenever its own advantage seems to require additional territory. Weak nations have not the same right to live as powerful and vigorous nations. The maintenance of peace never can or may be the goal of a policy. Efforts directed toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral. Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature cannot be political. The dominion of German thought can only be extended under the aegis of political power. What we now wish to attain must be fought for and won."

CRAMB, *English Professor of History. Lec-*

tures on Germany and England. "The prevalent bent of mind at the [German] universities, in the army among the more cultured, is toward what may be described as the religion of Valor, re-interpreted by Napoleon and Nietzsche. It is in politics and ethics Napoleonism. In Europe this conflict between Christ and Napoleon for the mastery over the minds of men is the most significant spiritual phenomenon of the twentieth century. Young Germany, the Germany of today, in the writings of Treitschke and the followers of Treitschke, studies Napoleonism. Germany shall not confront the twentieth century and its thronging vicissitudes as the worshipper of an alien God, thrall of an alien morality."

Vernon Kellogg *in the North American Review, March, 1918.* "It was not until I had lived in and travelled about all over German-occupied Belgium and France that I truly realized that what I had read in German books about war, and heard in German classrooms, was not just words and play at logic, but the expression of a conviction of belief, the reasoned acceptance of a terrible and fatal philosophy, so widely and thoroughly spread among a whole people as to give this people bodily into the hands of a few leaders who represented the technical knowledge necessary to success in this great all-deciding human struggle for existence. It is a philosophy that makes war and slaughter and rapine desirable, and justifies in the conduct of war every

form of cruelty and deceit, and all surrender of personal humane and moral standards; a philosophy that puts man's position and behavior and his evolutionary struggle back, not into mediaeval times, but into pre-historic, glacial time, when a half-beast, half-man type was all of man that the earth knew."

Revolt

The revolt against German philosophy, revealed in its true character by the aims and conduct of the war, will prove one of the most important events of all history. It is a virtual declaration for righteousness, justice, and good will. We knew vaguely of certain teachings and tendencies, but they had not become significant to us. The truth came as a horrible revelation. We asked, What has become of the idealism, poetry, and music of Germany, its culture, its science, its learning? What has happened in the land of Kant, Goethe, and Beethoven? What has led to violated treaties, inhuman cruelties, contempt for the law of nations, and disregard of human rights? Is it the science, become soulless,

and turned to monstrous uses; the imperial machine called the state; or the nature of the philosophy? Some terrible influence has become a menace to the civilized world.

Results

May we not see a definite and permanent turning toward essential principles of the Christian philosophy, and a religion that is truly ideal, constructive, and universal, answering to the best in the nature of man? As education has failed to impart a broad altruism, so the church has failed signally to implant the benignant precepts that should rule in the intercourse of nations as of individuals. God has been the God of a nation, of a party, of personal interest, of theologies and creeds, not the God of universal humanity. Of course religious interpretation varies with peoples and times, but Christianity today stands for righteousness, justice, and good will—not non-resistance, for it wars against evil and in behalf of right. It stands for hope and courage, for social reconstruc-

tion and spiritual progress. In general, religion, enlightened by reason, desires to know truth and reality, and thus to know God. And it would see in Him the dwelling place of beauty and duty and all the perfect ideals, dimly revealed in our nature, toward which humanity struggles. Call religion, if you will, only moral enthusiasm, or worship of exalted ideas—even so, we have the religion of right against might, and faith in the surpassing quality of righteousness. In discussion, I am sometimes asked, What do you mean by Christianity—creeds, theologies, orthodoxies? It is enough to reply that we are talking about the Christian philosophy of good will, but that the native impulse which turns man to the good and true is a divine message, that the real religious life, deeply rooted in human nature, in this crisis has proved healthy, strong, and fruitful. Righteousness, justice, good will—every such ideal is in the metaphysical realm, beyond the natural things, has an absolute value, and calls men to supreme sacrifice. When ideals of love and justice come to

possess the minds of men, they have practical consequences; they mean freedom instead of oppression, and peace instead of the sword. They mark a conversion from semi-savagery to the state of a social being with whom it is safe and agreeable to live—and this applies to nations, as to individuals. Men regard this as a final contest between Christianity and paganism, of forward-looking humanity against the last great stronghold of reaction.

Let us not for a moment lose our faith in humanity, in progress, or in God. Humanity stands the test. Progress has leaped forward a hundred years and has gained a momentum that will carry far. Dark doubt seizes us as we look upon deeds of savagery and listen to the almost universal cry of anguish; we are appalled by the problem of evil in the world. And then we behold a miracle more difficult to explain—evil changed to good, destruction turned to construction, building a new world. In the words of a remarkable essay on the "Eternal Battle:" "The War has focalized faith and virtue. By the in-

exorable logic of fate we are forced to become unselfish. Expediency presses upon us in this case with the weight of the universe, and crushes us into faith and virtue. You feel as if you were in contact with the gigantic heart of humanity. The Psalms which come from the depth of human feeling now sound their intimate clarions."

Spiritual change is the outstanding fact of this period. It is as if the perceptions of truth, the aims at justice, the compassion, all the wisdom and exalted feeling of the long past had revived and were living in the soul of the present. "Righteous wrath" and the "beauty of holiness," phrases that had become obsolete, again sound intimate. The very air seems vibrant with the heart beats of the peoples aroused in a great cause. Even the "man on the street" has received something of the divine fire and his moral sense is quickened. National purposes have become a religion. This is not mere enthusiasm for extension of power and national gain, or mere patriotism inflamed by war. It is

a conviction deeply rooted in the best instincts of humanity. "The war is the fight for the soul of man, and every syllable of the past which has expressed that soul has again become vocal."

"I gazed on power till I grew blind.
Power; I could not take my eyes from that:
That only, I thought, should be preserved, increased
At any risk, displayed, struck out at once —
The sign and note and character of man.

* * * * * * * *

I learned my own deep error; love's undoing
Taught me the worth of love in man's estate,
And what proportion love should hold with power,
In his right constitution; love preceding
Power, and with much power, always much more love."

III

Democracy

Some Fragments of History

The world is at war against German autocracy. Germany is the chief representative of the old dynastic order against which Europe has been struggling for the past hundred years. In no remote sense, this war is a continuation of the struggle.

After the Napoleonic conquests which prepared the field for a new order, just boundaries and liberal governments were demanded. But the Congress of Vienna in 1815 remade the map largely on old lines, and everywhere with little regard for natural divisions or the rights of weaker peoples. "The political map of Europe has been drawn by the point of the bayonet, at every frontier passing over the living bodies of the nations." The policy of the states constituting the Holy Alliance, later practically superceded by the Quadruple

Alliance, was reactionary. Austria, under the influence of Metternich, was the leader. Liberal tendencies, constitutional rights, were everywhere opposed. The uprisings of 1830 and 1848 were suppressed. When Prussia became dominant among the German states, she inherited the leadership of reactionary forces in Europe, formerly held by Austria. For this she was fitted by the character of the rulers, to an extent by the nature of the people, and by successful wars of conquest.

After the Franco-Prussian war, Germany pursued a policy of peace. This was necessary for her industrial growth and the extension of her commerce. But she took the lead in European councils. This condition obtained until about the beginning of the twentieth century, when Germany began to show an aggressive spirit. This appeared in the attempted interference with French interests in Morocco in 1905 and 1911, and in her attitude toward Austria's annexation in 1908 of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It may be significant that at the Hague in 1899 and 1907 Germany

opposed international arbitration, and reduction of armaments. Evidently the wisdom of Bismarck was forgotten. He counseled Germany not to alienate Russia, not to provoke British hostility, and not to allow the Triple Alliance to become aggressive. It is said he did not advocate the doctrines of "race, might, Kultur, and super-state." But Germany now had new ambitions. Had she not the culture, the science, the industry, the commerce, the army, the power, the superiority of race? Should she not have a larger place in the sun? Plans, vague or definite, for colonial or other expansion were formed. Finally Germany turned toward the Southeast—the extension of her influence through the Balkans and Turkey to the Persian Gulf. Then came the Balkan war of 1912 against Turkey, followed by the inter-Balkan struggle in which Serbia and her allies were victors. Serbia, being hostile to Austria, the ally of Germany, thus stood more prominently in the way of the latter's ambition. The obstacle must be removed. Unhappily

the occasion was found in the murder of the heir to the Austrian imperial throne.

One who has studied the European diplomacy of the past forty-five years, who has read the "papers" of the nations at war, containing the diplomatic exchanges the last days of July and the first days of August, 1914, who has noted the fact that Austria at nearly the last moment was ready to make concessions and accept mediation, is prepared to believe that at the fatal turning point Germany reasserted her influence and said the war must go on. He may believe, moreover, that Germany had virtually decreed war, weeks, even years before.

German Autocracy

The form of the German government, with a constitution granted from above, not built on a popular foundation, is cunningly devised to preserve autocratic power. The facts to follow, as well as the preceding bit of history, help to explain America's attitude in the war, to make

clear the mind and purpose of the allies, and to account for liberal reactions.

Germany is governed by the Emperor and the Bundesrat, composed of representatives of rulers of the German states. The influence of the military controls the civil power, virtually in peace, actually in war. In the last analysis the Emperor is supreme. Germany is subject to the schemes, the ambitions, and the control of one man. This will appear in a brief outline. The Reichstag, the legislative body elected by the people, has little power beyond debate; it merely consents to the measures of the government, or rejects them—and practically consent may be forced by threat of dissolution. The Bundesrat, the upper legislative body, is made up of delegates appointed by the heads of the states. They vote, not individually, but in groups, and as ordered. The Bundesrat has an absolute veto on the Reichstag, its consent being necessary to all legislation; its proceedings are secret. There is no cabinet; the imperial Chancellor is appointed by the Emperor and is

responsible to him alone. The Emperor makes treaties—certain ones on his own authority, is commander in chief, makes war with the consent of the Bundesrat. He may veto any proposed constitutional amendment through his control of the Prussian delegation in the Bundesrat. Add to all this the rule by "divine right," the bureaucracy, the paternalism, the military system, the exaltation of the state above the individual, and you have a form of government peculiarly constructed to make the world safe for kings, but oppressive to the people, and menacing to other nations.

Dangers of Irresponsible Government

The world has come to believe that the form of the German government, as well as the spirit of German philosophy, is responsible for the war. It believes the whole organization exalts military greatness, encourages conquest and international lawlessness, and is a standing danger to civilization. It employs secret legislation,

political chicanery, and insincere diplomacy. And at the head stands the autocrat, the ruler by divine right, God's instrument of vengeance. The military ruler is long out of date, but he still survives in Germany.

The Civil War was begun to preserve the nation in its integrity. The time came when the real nature of the struggle appeared in a clear light: it was an irrepressible conflict between two ideas; the country could not exist "half slave and half free;" it was a war for freedom. Then a new spirit was awakened and the people rose to the exalted feeling expressed in the Battle Hymn of the Republic—that paean of sublime faith and joy, wrought of bold, brilliant, revealing metaphors, struck off at a white heat of inspiration. When this war broke out, we thought it a clash of European interests. We finally entered it to defend our rights on the sea and prevent the murder of our citizens, though a few saw that we must fight now with allies abroad, or later without allies at home.

Then came the revelation: We are in the great struggle for freedom throughout the world.

The War and Democratic Tendencies

These facts and beliefs tremendously strengthen democratic tendencies. Absolutism stands in the way of progress. Autocratic dynasties must be overthrown. The world cannot exist part slave and part free. The world must be made safe for democracy. We shall never have permanent peace until the issue is settled, and settled in the right way. A patched-up peace now would mean that later, under less favorable conditions, the fight would be renewed.

The hope of the new age is the new democratic state, enlightened by recent history, in which shall be found a proper balance between tyranny and anarchy. It will exist for the people, and be responsive to their thought and free choice, but it should be organized for the more complete realization of their highest possibilities and best aspirations. Democracy means

more than the good of the individual state. Its great mission is to safeguard national good faith, and international honor, and to establish a new world order under Justice.

The war will spread the gospel of freedom; it will also modify the form and spirit of existing democracies. While they must organize for greater efficiency, in ways they will become more democratic. We shall have less privilege. Men are looking toward realities and essentials. The privilege of undue wealth, of rank, of power, of formal culture, will be diminished. It will be seen that the chasm is not so broad and deep, as supposed, between the "upper classes" and the "plain people." When men of all ranks stand shoulder to shoulder and fight for a common cause, when that cause is defense of freedom and right, they will be brothers in peace as they were comrades in war.

Make Democracy Safe for the World

If the world is to be "made safe for democracy," then democracy must be

"made safe for the world." Henceforth the whole existing order must be justified as means to desirable ends. We are fighting because we believe that democratic institutions are useful and autocratic institutions harmful. Governments must be reorganized in view of a political science, no longer merely bookish, but dictated by events and vitalized by living issues. In this day, when the nations are called before the judgment seat, all defects are revealed. Democracy means opportunity and cooperation, material and spiritual efficiency, and free development under high ideals. It is neither autocratic, capitalistic, nor anarchistic. In a complete democracy the people would rule in matters of government and industry, and in a broad sense in education. They would be subject the least possible to oligarchies, made up of either politicians, or capitalists, or leaders of public opinion.

Democracy stands for opportunity for all classes, not the dominance of any one class. We shall face the question of social justice in new forms; it will gain a hearing,

and the adjustment will test the wisdom of all parties. Class or group selfishness is either tyrannous or lawless. One-sided views, undue privilege, abuses by ruling parties, unfair representation, are shortcomings in all governments. The chief democratic principle is cooperation. In Germany, collectivism, the union of effort in common aims, has been perverted to the ends of autocracy; it can be used wisely and effectively under the rule of the people. Cooperation rests on mutual confidence and this rests on education. All classes must view questions from many standpoints. Popular education should include, not only the common elements, but history, social science, present-day problems, the meaning of democracy, and the character and value of our institutions.

Democracy must be efficient. Under the former methods of extreme individualism, we could neither claim superiority nor hope for security. It is a hard choice between an efficient aristocracy and a democracy that is inefficient. This is the great lesson of the war: Democracy and

Efficiency, the union of the material with the moral forces of civilization. Efficiency of a people may mean several things—on the practical side, initiative, endurance, executive power; in the higher values, intelligence, good will, and happiness. Paternalism also seeks system, order, and practical results, but it is aristocratic and military in form and spirit; it may become tyrannous and soulless. We can see, under the necessities of war, whether, in normal conditions, we would desire espionage, censorship, and in general the conditions existing under martial law. Hegel's doctrine of absolute government and of the state is the accepted gospel in Prussia. Prussian dominance in Germany since 1870 has made the individual subordinate to the state. Before the imperial union, when the spirit was individualistic, Germany was the land that fostered Kant and Goethe and Beethoven, the land of idealism and poetry and music and culture, the land we still love and pray for and under God will help liberate and restore. There is a world-wide difference between the efficiency

imposed by autocrats, aristocrats, and bureaucrats, aided by military force, and the efficiency developed under representatives and leaders by the intelligence, cooperation, and good will of a free and constructive people. Efficiency can be gained under freedom. Democracy seeks its ends through the education of its citizens. By this means it gradually attains productive power, good government, and justice. It works for the development of all classes toward the best manhood and citizenship—upward toward universal aristocracy. France, under a system of voluntary subordination, has answered the question, Can democracy be efficient? The highest form of efficiency is spiritual power. England, France, and America have preserved their culture, humanity, and ideals, while Germany, under paternalism, has utterly lost her spiritual heritage. As lessons from the war we shall look to the cooperation of the government with business, and with all the forces that make for progress and welfare, coordination of industries, elimination of waste, directing of energy,

regulation of public interests, settlement of disputes, efficient administration. Besides executive fitness, the need of organization and regulation within a democracy is primary. If this need is not shown by the war, it is made more urgent and immediate. Already, possibilities undreamed of in a republic are realized; miracles are wrought before our eyes. The forces of the nation are working as a unit; efforts are directed to a common result. The government, no longer standing in armed hostility to the "interests," is cooperating with business organizations to meet war emergencies. We see control of industry and commerce, and regulation of economic conditions. The government makes itself stronger than any class or interest and shows a bold front to encroachments on common welfare. May I give an illustration from pre-war time of a movement for better administration? The beginning was made in New York City four or five years ago. A meeting was held of representatives of universities, municipalities and social organizations. The question

was, How shall we secure administrative efficiency in a democratic state? The answer was, By cooperation of the universities with philanthropic organizations and city governments to train men in the universities and the field for public service. Related to this is the movement, now spreading rapidly through the land, toward the "city-manager" system, based on the plan of successful business organization. The people make the fundamental laws and elect a council of representative citizens with power to form policies and supervise their execution, whose duty it shall be to appoint a city-manager, an expert of experts in administration. He in turn appoints to every department of the city, as engineering, health, charity, specially trained and competent men. When these ideas, so far as may be, are applied to the state and national governments, we shall have taken a long step toward economy and efficiency. These are the small seeds, but they may become a mighty and fruitful growth. By the cooperation with the universities, higher learning is made an ex-

pression of democracy, a representative of its ideals, a co-worker with all its forces.

Democracy must hold high purposes and aims. In the past we have too readily worshiped money, power, and success. Even at the beginning of the war, before our vision was cleared, we sought commercial advantage from the misfortunes of others. Germany has lost her ideals—they are the precious heritage of any nation. Culture and reverence for moral greatness are the best part of our traditions and are to be preserved at all costs. Our ideals will be advanced by the heroisms of the day, by the new spirit of humanity. The people must have confidence in the institutions of their country as representing their best hopes and aims. Faith in country is the basis of true patriotism. There is a kind of patriotism which is inspired by exaggerated ideas of race, history, and culture, and by false ideas of the state and of military glory; there is a kind which is only blind allegiance trained to servility—we want neither. We want the kind that, with complete faith in country and cause,

rises to supreme heroisms. Weak pacifism is not a democratic ideal. The world will not become good by ceasing to be bad. The Christian virtues are positive and aggressive, and we have renewed our vow to them in this the greatest and final crusade to defend whatever in the world is sacred.

History is filled with the terrors of anarchy; we now know the evils of the "perfectly organized state." The danger-points on both sides are charted, and nations are warned to steer the middle course. Political science is revised. Autocracy will learn its lessons from democracy; democracy will be taught by the example of efficient government, and co-operative organization. Current history throws a fierce light on the need of a broader education in all human relations, of rational thought, and of scientific truth-seeking in every field. The chaos in Russia, the mania that has seized the German mind, show the penalties of ignorance, narrowness, and distorted view of classes, institutions, and peoples. Reason must play a larger part in human affairs. When

mob violence is readily aroused, national hysterics is easily excited, and sane judgment may be dethroned by a catchword, when demagogues and charlatans may sway the popular mind, new emphasis must be given in popular government to comprehensive, clear, logical thought. Democracy needs to be penetrated with the spirit of science that everywhere seeks the truth—a science that today will turn to sociology and accumulate facts, determine principles, propagate ideas, and prepare reforms in every field of government and society.

IV

Socialism. Labor

Aims of Socialism

Socialism, with its many forms and its range of demands, is not easily defined. In general, it stands for governmental control of economic activities. Conservative socialists are opportunists, and work with the "middle class" for gradual reforms through legislation backed by public sentiment.

Radical socialism, bordering on anarchy, is represented by the extremists in Russia. They have overthrown, for the time, the whole political, social, and economic order, and aim at a new form of state controlled by and for the proletariat. Here is a startling transformation, even for this day of rapid change, and it will affect radical tendencies throughout the world. But, in itself, it is doomed to failure, because it represents the extreme of class selfishness

and fanaticism. And failure is the doom of all anarchy, and of all such organizations as the "I. W. W." which propagate class hatred and violence. We are at a period when justice for all classes, equal rights for all, real democracy, are the watchwords, and no one class, which refuses to live on good terms with the others, can establish a new tyranny. "Autocracy is the natural ally of anarchy, since both are sworn enemies of democracy." If Russia had called at the outset a constituent assembly, truly representative, to determine a new form of government, a real and well established democracy might have emerged from the revolution. Safety for Russia is in a middle course between dynasticism and ultra-radicalism.

The recent report of a committee of the "British Labor Party" of a general policy for reconstruction after the war is valuable for study of up-to-date aims of radical, but not insane, socialism. The report submitted advocates: the universal enforcement of the national minimum, the democratic control of industry, the revolution

in national finance, the surplus wealth for the common good. The American "National Labor and Radical Congress," representative of 125 labor organizations, recently made a similar programme, calling for public ownership of all resources, public utilities, financial agencies, and other economic opportunities. Both bodies acknowledged that the final goals are far distant. Some condensed statements from the British report, to which are added extracts from H. G. Wells' "What is Coming?" follow:

General principles. Indispensable industries are no longer to be under the unfettered control of private capitalists. The individualist system of capitalist production must be abolished, and with it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. There must be a new social order, based on fraternity and a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all; on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person; (in industry as well as in government) on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest pos-

sible participation in power, both economic and political, which are characteristic of democracy.

Democratic control of industry. The party stands for common ownership of the nation's land; national ownership and administration of railways, canals, harbors and roads, posts and telegraphs, great lines of steamers — in a united national service of communication and transport, to be worked exclusively for the common good; participation by the employees in the management of mines and railways.

National finance. The party stands for direct taxation of the incomes above necessary cost of family maintenance, direct taxation of private fortunes — to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal.

Surplus. Surplus derived from nationalization, and from taxation of private income and riches, is to be used for the common good, for the building up of the community as a whole. The new capital is to be used for the community — for improvements and enterprises, for public provision for the sick and infirm and aged and those suffering from accident or disease, for education with equality of opportunity, for organization of public improvements of all kinds, for brightening ceaseless toil and creating means of recreation, for scientific investigation and research, for promotion of music and literature and art.

H. G. Wells in *What is Coming?* "Out

of the war there will emerge a more highly organized state than existed before, that is to say, a less individualistic and more socialistic state. . . . . The waste and dangers of individualism have had a whole series of striking exemplifications both in Europe and America since the war began. . . . While industrial development in the Allied countries is still largely a squabbling confusion of little, short-sighted, unscientific, private profit-seeking owners, in Germany it has been for some years increasingly run on far-seeing collectivist lines. Against British or American capitalists and millionaires, Germany pits herself as a single great capitalist and competitor. . . . I believe that the end of the war will see, not only transit, but shipping, collieries, and large portions of the machinery of food and drink production and distribution no longer under the administration of private ownership, but under a sort of provisional public administration. And a very large part of the British factories will be in the same case. . . . The darkest shadow upon the outlook of European civilization at the present time is not the war; it is the failure of any cooperative spirit between labor and the directing classes. . . . The Allies will become state firms, setting private profit aside in the common interest, handling agriculture, transport, shipping, coal, the supply of metals, the manufacture of a thousand staple articles, as national concerns. . . . This does

not mean that there will have been any disappearance of private property, but only that there will have been a very considerable change in its character; the owner will be less of a controller but more of a creditor. There will probably be far less evidence of great concentrations of private wealth. . . . More of our boys will be going into the public service, not as clerks, but as engineers, technical chemists, manufacturers, state agriculturists, and the like. . . . [The following from "Social Forces in England and America"]. It is possible to have this Great State, essentially socialistic, sustaining everybody in absolute freedom at a certain minimum of comfort and well-being, and still leaving most of the interests, amusements, and adornments of the individual life, and all sorts of collective concerns, social and political discussion, religious worship, philosophy, and the like to the free personal initiatives of entirely unofficial people. . . . If the more powerful and educated sections of the American community realize in time the immense moral possibilities of the socialist movement, if they will trouble to understand its good side instead of emphasizing its bad, if they will keep in touch with it and help in the development of a constructive content to its propositions, then it seems to me that popular socialism may count as a third great factor in the making of the civilized American State."

Three types of socialism have been mentioned: the conservative, at least in its opportunist methods; the ultra-radical represented by Bolshevism; the radical in which may be classed the British Labor Party. It may be that all socialists, as charged by some alarmists, are essentially the same, and that, after the war, they will prove a world-wide peril, and should be fought on every hand. Since sections to follow appear to favor a degree of socialism and certain claims of labor, the writer's position may be made clear once for all. Democracy should mean rights for all classes, and, so far as possible, proportional representation. It should mean brotherhood of all, not merely of a group—a fact to be recognized first by the "upper classes" and especially by capital, even if for no other purpose than to avert the dangers of social revolution. But socialism, so far as it stands for envy and hatred and greed, denies common rights, refuses to recognize intellectual and spiritual "work" and the place of genius and those of superior gifts, is a menace

greater than any autocracy. It would mean tyranny, degradation of the best in human society, and the destruction of everything of highest worth. In Russia, socialism feared the Duma because it was truly representative, it dissolved the constituent assembly for the same reason. Its temporary career under the banner of hatred and selfishness will end in self-destruction—will live only in history as a horrible example of the dangers and inevitable fate of all fanatical dreams. Condemnation of the extreme individualistic system and the resulting inequality of conditions based on the survival of the fittest, the advocacy of a new political science standing for the cooperation of all classes, and a scheme for democratic instead of party or class representation, in general will appeal to progressive and generous minds. Here is a better type of socialism than the Marxian which would constitute intolerable slavery. Socialism, I believe, must always remain in the hands of individualism, and allow freedom and initiative. But there will be wider volun-

tary cooperation, and more extended state ownership and control. We may look for experiments in equitable profit-sharing limited to those directly engaged in production.

Limitations to Socialistic Tendencies

Before discussing probable changes due to the war, we may note some natural limitations to socialistic tendencies. I am not one who believes democracy is doomed to communism. I am not disposed to be frightened at socialism so long as it remains in the arms of individualism, as it always must remain in this country. Let the state do whatever it can do better than independent enterprise; let all other interests remain under private ownership. The limitations to any complete socialistic programme are the hostility of larger and stronger forces containing the best leadership, the tendency toward individual ownership, and the instinct of personal possession.

Socialism is closely confined to working-

men in cities. It hardly reaches the farmers, who are themselves capitalists. The farmers in this country constitute a large percentage of the population, and they are weighty in the economic and political field. To be sure the "Non-Partisan League" asks for rural credits, crop insurance, and state control of storage and mills, but it would resent interference with property rights of the farmer. In Russia, the workingmen, now in control, are suspicious of the attitude of the peasantry toward a socialized state. On the "upper and middle classes" socialism has little hold. And, if class conflicts must continue, we may be sure that the men who are capable of planning and managing great business, the men of both brain and will, are likely to lead in social influence and political management.

Whatever industrial area may become socialized, private capital will operate outside of it. The investigations of John Graham Brooks a few years ago showed that individual ownership is increasing. There is a growing number of small farms

in England, Prussia, France, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. There are more small stores and industries. The distribution of electric power to communities aids minor enterprises. We are in the midst of new discoveries and new inventions, and have a new class of trained specialists and skilled artisans; there will be a greater demand for private effort to cover the increasing variety of processes and products.

One instinct, the most powerful in human nature, will forever prevent extreme socialism, namely, the desire for possessions which are one's very own. Most men, aside from the lazy, weak, and fanatical, view communism with fear and hatred. They wish something that has the stamp of personal ownership, something won by struggle, something to cherish and defend, to be used according to individual desire—home and all that clusters around it. This sentiment constitutes much of the poetry of life, and it dwells as certainly in humble surroundings as in places of wealth and culture.

Effect of the War on Socialism

Many see the triumph of socialism as a result of the war. That we shall have more socialism is inevitable. It will take the direction of ownership, control, or regulation of national resources, the means of production and exchange, and capital—of all great economic interests. There will be a more equitable distribution of wealth. There will be a demand for greater efficiency, economy, and conservation than have been attained under unrestricted competition. Germany's efficiency is due in part to the intimate relation to the government of all the elements of national growth and national strength. In some way we shall have greater cooperation of all our forces to the end of national development as a whole. Our vast experiment in state control as a war necessity will hardly be followed by a complete return to former conditions. Whatever forms of interference prove valuable and workable in part may be retained. If we do not have government ownership, we

shall have the milder interference which alone can prevent it. It is significant that capitalists, men of experience in great affairs, men of large outlook, regard some of these changes as at least debatable if not just and inevitable. But, while socialism in the sense of larger public control grows, we hope that socialism as a hostile organization will lose power.

Shall we have extensive public ownership? Although the war to a startling degree has augmented the functions of the government, the tendency toward national ownership is not naturally strong in the United States, which has never been a fertile field for socialism. If it comes, it will first reach the means of travel and communication, and of transportation and distribution; it may also touch standardized industries and certain national resources.

Shall we have, instead, government regulation? Facing the question, as we now are, I believe we shall choose the milder means. Conservative minds are asking, Cannot big business be placed within

reasonable bounds of justice, honesty, and fair dealing, and otherwise be left free? Cannot public corporations be allowed to combine—indeed, should they not be encouraged to combine—under effective regulation, regulation and not direct control? Is paternalism the only way to efficiency? Cannot business learn efficiency, and succeed under conditions of limited freedom? Before entrance into the war, the child labor act, the Adamson act, the pure food and drug law had been passed, commissions of investigation and commissions with legislative and judicial and administrative powers had been added to the machinery of government, public utilities were regulated in many states. As war measures, we have passed acts for food and fuel administration, for control of railroads and shipping and telegraphs, and for governing prices, distribution, and sale. Business and property are at the service and disposal of the state, magnates and workingmen are or may be made a part of the national army, unusual penalties may be imposed for interference with

government activities—but these are extraordinary powers, limited to the duration of the war. Afterward, as far as retained, they must be justified on grounds of "public interest" alone. But almost anything of general concern may fall under this head and be subject to state supervision. We must recognize the fact that the doctrine of property rights has undergone an important change in the direction of greater justice. Wealth, existent because of society, has duties and is liable to society's restrictions and reasonable demands.

Democratic representation and legal reforms may help disarm socialistic propaganda. One cause of unrest is the character of legislative bodies, made up of members often non-representative or misrepresentative—lawyers who are of a conservative class and who sometimes stand for the interests, and politicians who are frequently selfish schemers. Industry, engineering, science, medicine, art, education, as well as business, are constructive forces of civilization and should have a fair share

in law-making. These live elements would thus become formal agencies in national development, and suspicion of incompetency and injustice would to a degree be removed. I believe one effect of the present crisis should be to stimulate vital reform lead by men of brain and leisure, men who combine generous impulses with large views. Volunteer efforts to realize the best in democracy alone will bring to the front in just cooperation the forces of labor, business, science, and culture. If reform in the making of laws would secure some of the equality at which socialism aims, change in the judicial administration of law would secure greater equity. The whole system is ultra-conservative and in its operation is hampered by precedents, forms, and technicalities. There is hope in the use of commissions for the settlement of many questions of right. A commission usually brings intelligence, fitness, and fairness to its work. It avoids useless obstructions, goes directly to the heart of the matter, and decides on the merits of the case.

Labor Problems

The aims of socialism and labor are so interrelated that it is difficult to draw hard and fast lines. Both look toward better conditions for the laboring class. Socialism would have more and more of state ownership. Labor works for amelioration without looking necessarily to increase of state functions. Indeed, the American Federation of Labor opposes regulation. It apprehends interference with strikes and boycotts, and fears legal enactment making labor organizations responsible for their obligations and acts. The war will greatly modify the aspect of labor questions, and many of the expedients used in emergency will be retained as permanent political policies. Indeed, current events may clarify the whole subject, bring about better understanding, and result in agreement upon fundamental principles.

The subject may be discussed under the following heads: Regulation of disputes; Regulation of profits; Improvement of labor conditions; Insurance against unem-

ployment, etc.; Class confidence, Cooperation, and Voluntary arbitration.

Regulation of disputes. The end of lawlessness may be one result of the extended use of authority in time of war. The government has tolerated defiance of law by the "interests." It has stood weakly by and seen the employment of private guards and the illegal organization of citizens against the illegal attacks of organized labor. The government has endured attacks on American institutions, dictation as to who shall work and what goods may be sold, breaking of contracts, use of sabotage and force. Government regulation of disputes menacing to the public, and blocking the avenues of exchange and the output of necessities will be demanded by the great mass of the people who have patiently endured consequent hardships, but who, when the advantage of control by the national power has been shown, will be restive and resentful under the tyranny of both capital and labor. Unrestricted class strife may become a form of anarchy and interfere with the freedom and welfare of the people

as a whole. A government, that has learned to commandeer property and men for the public service, may intervene and prevent a recurrence of old hostility and struggles. It should use authority, demand loyalty and obedience to law. It should teach that "private rights cease where public wrongs begin." It should allow no other power to be as strong as itself. Justice and not fear or expediency should control. There should be no laws favoring a class, because the safeguarding of rights is equally important to employer and employee. On the one hand, the government should require employers to recognize the right of labor to organize, appoint its own representatives and spokesmen, and make contracts—the principle of collective bargaining. On the other hand, it should prevent interference with the employment and distribution of labor, maintain the rights of non-union men—the principle of the open shop. It should make labor organizations responsible for contracts and all liabilities. It should set limits to strikes and boycotts. In England, as a war measure, strikes are

forbidden, and attempts to interfere with production or service are punished. In failure of all other methods, the government should use compulsory arbitration.

Regulation of profits. On the return of peace, we shall face an insistent demand of labor for a larger share of the profits of industry. It will ask a share sufficient to maintain homes and comforts and provide against wants. It is likely that in some way the demand will be partly met. In England and the United States, manufacturers' profits are limited or severely taxed—a condition of industrial peace. This is a precedent which will not be forgotten, and it points in the same direction as the aims of the British Labor Party. It means some kind of profit-sharing, if not limitation of wealth, and socialization of certain industries. Not remotely, it suggests that speculation may be restricted, and irresponsible middlemen may be supplanted by government agencies or by "co-operatives." Belgium (I am speaking of conditions before the invasion) counts co-operative societies by the thousand. They

show that employers and middlemen can be dispensed with. They aim at owning machinery and capital, and doing business in competition with capital. They are learning industrial management. They do not interfere with small industries—only the leading ones that constitute monopolies. Cooperative societies in the world today are numbered by the hundred thousand, membership by the million; and they are rapidly increasing. In England they did a business last year of a thousand million. They engage in production, distribution, banking and insurance. Workers become cooperative capitalists. Progressive cooperative ownership by labor is a partial solution of the industrial class problem.

Improvement of labor conditions. The war is breaking down obstacles to movements already begun and carried far to improve labor conditions. Hundreds of laws have been enacted in recent years in the interest of labor—laws regarding safety and sanitation, adequate housing, employment of women and children, hours of work, min-

imum wages, unemployment, and workingmen's compensation, insurance, and pensions. But questions still remain, such as wages and hours, and subjection to conditions and terms imposed by unsympathetic employers. To end strife, to prevent strikes, and to avoid extreme state interference, capital should see the shadows of coming events, and inaugurate radical and extensive reforms. In considering the welfare of labor we find a vital point in the demand of human nature for recreation, a break in the monotony of highly specialized work. It is one of the most difficult problems and not alone for the industrial workers. Efficiency may become exacting, mechanical, and deadening. It may dictate life's incomings and outgoings, leaving no time for reflection or life-giving stimuli. It may make labor oppressive. When tyranny of industry finally comes face to face with human welfare, with health and happiness, humanity will triumph. Incidentally the evil conditions of labor will never be removed, so long as there is a considerable class of loafers,

whether tramps or the sons of wealth. If the entire nation's forces were productive, there would be a margin of leisure time for all—time in which the individual could live his life in freedom of spirit, could turn to healthful enjoyments, avocations, or the influences of culture.

Insurance against non-employment, etc. Any social order, in which a man willing to work finds nothing to do, is a pitiful failure. The workingman is entitled to permanent employment, and security for this is the government's business, for no other agency can deal with it. There should be a complete and efficient system for labor distribution; in time of business depression, surplus labor could be used on necessary public works. Among the unemployed is a percentage of the unemployable. These are a special class and they should be segregated, and, if reclaimable, should be put on their feet physically, mentally, and morally, and turned to some useful occupation. The present condition is no longer tolerable. The regularly employed often face destitution, occasional idleness

brings distress, and vagrant labor is reduced to beggary. The lack of steady employment lowers the morale of the worker and starts him on the downward scale. Commercial and charitable employment agencies, being non-cooperative, do not solve the problem. There should be a national system to register the unemployed, locate them on the nearest job, and secure permanence. In line with movements in other countries, we shall have state insurance for unemployment, accidents and sickness, and public provision for old age.

Class confidence, cooperation, voluntary arbitration. In class conflicts, as between capital and labor, four parties are concerned, the contending groups, the people, and the government. Each has its point of view and its privileges which may not be infringed upon. True democracy is a balance of governmental power, popular rights, and special interests. The government may not be oppressive, the people may not be lawless, no one class may constitute itself a tyranny. These patent facts are too much ignored. Confidence between

capital and labor is a supreme need. I believe the war will effect a better understanding. We are gaining a sense of unity, an idea of obligation to the state, a feeling of patriotism and devotion that in themselves should reduce class consciousness and class selfishness. We need an education in all social questions, comprehensive enough to include all points of view. On the one hand, capital has a right to reasonable freedom in developing natural resources, to opportunities, to fair profits, and to protection. It may expect fulfillment of contracts and agreements, and security against unmeaning hostility and vicious attacks. On the other hand, labor has a right, among other things, to living wages. The workingman feels he is not a thing but a co-worker, in a sense a partner. He desires, not benevolence or patronage, but justice. He believes he carries the heavier burden. He does not hold labor a commodity, but claims the right to bargain on a business basis. So strong is this feeling that labor will strive to seize the means of production, unless capital

makes important concessions. All of which means that each party must put itself in the other's place and see from its viewpoint. The government's "Mediation Commission," recently serving in the settlement of strikes that might at this particular time have been widely disastrous, found that men brought face to face, addressed frankly and sincerely, were willing to reason and to be reasonable. The Commission pointed out that the government and the people are concerned in class quarrels; that government, people, capital, and labor, each has its rights which must be respected—a fact too much overlooked; that both sides were playing the autocrat. The result has been increased confidence and peaceful settlements.

Cooperation in large and successful ways is yet to be hoped for, though conferences and mutual agreements are increasingly employed. Since workingmen have collective interests, they may profitably be consulted regarding conditions, wages, or change of rules. On occasion of difference, the matter could be referred to a proper

committee. A degree of industrial democracy is realized in some establishments where rules regarding work, discipline, and general welfare are made by the employees themselves. An illustration of the settlement of recent industrial warfare in a Western state will show a happy trend toward a better understanding between capital and labor. There was a widespread and violent strike in the coal mines. Capital raised the cry of "freedom of employment," as did the owners, statesmen, and all defenders of the established order in England at the time of the early labor reforms. On the other hand, labor reverted to the discredited methods of violence used by the anarchistic Bakunin and his followers a half century before. The misunderstandings were partly due to lack of contact and discussion—failure to see a common ground. Now, after a period of four years, by mutual discussion, agreement, and cooperation, peace reigns and both parties are materially better and spiritually happier. The result is more good will, better working and living conditions,

and a larger output. The principle of representation was adopted, and joint conferences are regularly held. Several great corporations, operating in many states, have inaugurated a similar plan. There are joint committees on Industrial Cooperation and Conciliation, Safety, Accidents, and Sanitation, Health, and Housing. May we not hope that the cooperative idea will gain firm hold, and that ultimately a conference of national scope may be held to agree upon fundamental doctrines, to be enacted into a law of the land? We are aware that this is an opening into a broad field containing question of partnership between capital and labor under government supervision, division of profits, control of natural resources, removal of duplication and competition, and limitation of wealth.

Voluntary arbitration is a ground on which contending interests must meet. We are finding that unity of effort in face of a common danger is feasible and workable. This will lead on both sides to a readier agreement to arbitration as an instrument

of understanding and justice, both now and in the future reorganization of industry. There should be permanent machinery for the settlement of issues, provided either by agreement between great bodies or by the national and the state governments. Recently, a plan was made public for settling industrial disputes and securing maximum production during the war. In substance the plan is as follows: There is to be a government Mediation Board, and local boards in industrial centers. These are to bring about settlements by mediation and conciliation. In case of failure of a local board, appeal is to be made to the national board. If voluntary agreement is not then reached, the final decision is to be made by an umpire chosen by unanimous approval of members of the board. The plan includes the registration of the available workers of the country with view to rapid and effective distribution according to need. The following principles are to be recognized: right of labor to a living wage, right to maintain trade unions, the union shop, and the meth-

od of collective bargaining; right of employers to organize and to maintain the existing open shops. This movement is one of the most significant among the current changes; it will gain public approval, and should receive the hearty support of both capital and labor. This plan in part has been put in force by the government and has been operative since August 1, 1918. A national board, representing all interests, with state and district boards, is provided. War work is placed first and employer and employee are under government regulation. Labor is recruited, distributed, and guided. Boards are responsible for the settlement of disputes.

V

Efficiency

German Efficiency

German efficiency is an outstanding fact of the war. We wonder at the industrial organization, the military system, the national unity and energy. Business is allied with the state; every interest and every individual are fully related to it. "The mines, forests, railroads, waterways, banks, factories, harbors and shipping are so related, centrally controlled, and intimately directed as to constitute closely correlated and mutually cooperative organs of the state." The system of military training prepares every youth for service and puts him in a definite class ready to take his place at a moment's call. Plans are made, war material is accumulated, strategic roads are built, all that pertains to the organization and conduct of war is thoroughly systematized, all resources may

be commandeered— and at the pushing of the button the vast and intricate machinery moves. The government is autocratic and bureaucratic; the central authority promotes the material wealth, forms the policies and guides the energies of the nation. The government aids manufacture, commerce, and scientific discovery; trade is developed on a thorough plan. The state is a completely organized and perfectly working machine. Municipal government, through expert service, secures administrative efficiency. The people are both cooperative and subservient. Paternalism is carried to an extreme. Citizens are forbidden, directed, enjoined. Workingmen are secured against conditions and times of need. The education is scientific and leads to state service and the growth of industry. Practical education in the elementary schools is fully provided and prepares for many occupations. The teaching of political doctrine must uphold existing institutions. The history is the exaltation of the reigning dynasty, the national progress, and the national superiority.

Dangers

Before accepting the positive lessons we must be warned of the dangers. The military system carried to an extreme takes from the duties of normal life, and the constructive work of peace. It may overshadow the civil power, and be controlled by a conscienceless clique, influenced by grasping interests and aims of aggrandizement. In fact German militarism, wielded by autocratic power, is held answerable for the war. The perfected military state maintains fixed institutions, circumscribes free thought, and hinders essential progress; it is already at its height. "Liberty is sacrificed to discipline." The government operates by military methods. The efficiency is a machine product, not the attainment of a free people. Paternalism reduces the power of initiative. Education which unduly limits political and social thought is ill preparation for the new movements of the age. Education, which distorts history in the interest of a dynasty, exaggerates national grandeur and pride of race, and teaches a false patriotism is dangerous.

Lessons

France, England, and the United States, under the stress of war, have given the government extraordinary powers, and have formed vast armies; they have organized, economized, and mobilized every national resource. They are securing the cooperation of classes, organizations, and industries. Every citizen must find his place, take his share of the state's burdens, do his part. They are turning to the development and applications of science, and are using expert service in all government activities. At the end of the war, we shall not wholly revert to former conditions; many lessons will be retained. Democratic peoples, who by nature, history, and habit are strongly individualistic, will naturally avoid the extremes of centralized power, and may freely learn the really vital lessons of a highly organized government. A democratic government preserves the individual; he is not lost in a kind of nirvana called the state. If he has genius it naturally becomes a public asset. At the call

of reform he volunteers his efforts. In a national crisis his loyalty is spontaneous, instant, and effective—the people become a unit. A democracy must maintain a balance between efficiency and freedom—and this is the greatest problem. It wants efficiency, but not at the sacrifice of individual right and initiative. It wants to organize and economize the national strength, but not at the cost of representative institutions. It aims at accomplishment, but not under the spur of the military "boot and cane."

A profound teaching of our war experience and of Germany's example is this—the fullest development, use, and economy of the nation's power, through centralization, regulation, cooperation, efficient administration, and scientific methods. It is estimated that in the United States we reach not more than fifty per cent. of possible human efficiency. The *laissez-faire* principle is of the past. It means dormant energy, indifference to ignorance and injustice; it means warfare of interests and waste. Centralized power is consistent

with the due autonomy of the separate units, whether states or classes or interests. Strong government is necessary, not only to control all forms of anarchy, but to direct the forces of development. Regulation of all activities, that carry the menace of hardship or injustice or tyranny, is a prime function of government. It should control the lawlessness of groups, the power of wealth, even speculation and false prices. Cooperation of the government with all means of growth and development will not only double the nation's productive power, but will bring to our modern civilization in a practical way the old Greek ideal of harmony. Efficient administration is a great lack in a democracy. So far as administration may be taken out of politics and be made a matter of business in the interest of the public, so far as we may bring expert knowledge and trained skill into every department of public service, we shall tend to create a condition that in contrast with former weakness would be a revolution. The applications of science, now used in all war activity,

must reach every field of economic growth, if we are to compete with leading industrial and commercial nations. Moreover democracy is unsafe unless scientific methods are brought to the examination of all conditions that affect the good of government and society. Science can be turned to the discovery of the conditions of collective welfare; it may be applied in the moral field; as knowledge and reason, it may guide the conscience which so often wanders in ignorance. All these elements of national strength are being tested; they are found workable and successful; they will be used in our reorganization for efficiency.

VI

Obligation to the State

The German State

Much of the German philosophy views the state as the instrument of the Universal Will in the eternal progress—a conception that exalts patriotism. The Emperor rules by divine right, is answerable only to God, the Prussian god, partial to his chosen people. Officials are trained to loyalty and obedience. Higher education prepares for public service in the departments of justice, medicine, and instruction. Everything is woven into the fabric of the state. The history of the people is glorified, their mission is proclaimed, their Kultur must extend throughout the world. The military system enforces loyalty to the Emperor and the fatherland. Allegiance is imperative, obedience must be unquestioned, devotion to the state is, first and last, the duty of every citizen.

The evils of the too highly organized state have been pointed out, but its positive lessons cannot be omitted. The evils of the individualistic state must be frankly acknowledged, but at the same time we must see its inherent saving qualities, its aptness in the school of experience, and its unlimited freedom of development.

Individualism in The United States

In the United States, before the war, individualism ran to an extreme. Progress would take care of itself. The world would gradually evolve toward ideal conditions. Competition was the economic philosophy. Capital was free to exact the lowest wages and the highest prices. Labor fought for justice. Parties seized the spoils of political victory. Citizens struggled for a place at the pie counter. Serving the public was too infrequent a motive. The citizen was ever demanding rights, lightly regarding his duties toward the commonwealth, and was indifferent to measures of reform that carried no personal or party advantage. Free education strengthened the idea in the minds of youth that the

state owed them everything, and failed to teach successfully the lesson of obligation. Emigrants in vast numbers poured into manufacturing centers and enjoyed all that a free and prosperous country offered, but were slow to understand and appreciate their privileges. While the Puritan ideas have become the public ideals of every section of the country and in a way create a national unity of spirit, many communities have grown more and more heterogeneous. England was a country of extreme democracy and individual right. To be sure its long and glorious history, its social aristocracy, its established church, were bonds of united sentiment and patriotism. But in many essential ways the conditions in the two countries were similar.

Awakening in the United States

With our entrance into the struggle came a test of national character, and the country has shown its sanity, steadiness, and firmness. The pessimistic prophesies of upheaval, even to the extent of civil war,

will not be realized. The conscription of men—a severe test of loyalty in a democracy—has been accepted in a spirit of duty; to be sure, there has been a ripple here and there, but no tempestuous upheaval. Great industries have offered their plants at a financial loss to the needs of the country. Managers of great affairs have tendered free service to the government. There are no violent reactions against enormous taxation. Gifts to supply need and relieve suffering in all countries are freely offered. In every house some form of sacrifice is made, and some limit of comfort is imposed. Selfishness is ostracized, and treason is repressed. The country is aroused in the cause of national honor and better political and humane conditions throughout the world—and this without desire for gain or conquest. France had internal disorders, but was strong in her military system. Moreover, her public schools were notably efficient in teaching patriotism as well as truth and justice. She entered the war, knowing no doubt, no fear, no limit, and showed an earnestness,

steadiness, and perseverance that have gained the admiration of the world.

Afterward

That war may bring beneficent changes is no excuse for war, but we should not be blind to whatever advantages grow from it. In the school of adversity every citizen is learning minor sacrifice and volunteer work; he responds to the state's claim on property and life, to the call of civilization and humanity. It is a lesson, already deeply implanted, that will grow into habit and ideas and ideals—that will be the heritage of coming generations. It is a lesson that every individual is related in essential ways to neighbor, community, state, country, and universal humanity; that duties and rights are inseparable.

Great revolutions, like the Russian, pass through a stage of anarchy toward true freedom. Ignorance and fanaticism aim at impossible goals; selfishness grasps wildly for every advantage. And the struggle goes on until the idea of rights of others, of common good, of tolerance and co-

operation appears. We may be thankful that, favored by conditions and taught by history, we have avoided such revolutions; that we are looking toward the ideal of a free state strong in the good will and free service of its citizens.

In the reorganizations that will follow this period, extreme views of the state that lead to tyranny will be avoided. But, in place of the individualistic "muddle," we shall have a country with great common aims, better ordered, more purposeful. We predict, as a result of the war, a new attitude toward public duty and a sense of responsibility for the national character and policies. The world is thinking as never before. We may witness a spiritual revolution by which men will escape, "morally from the limitation of self into the social body; esthetically and intellectually from provincialism ever outward into the general best."

Wordsworth wrote in the early days of the French Revolution:

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very Heaven!"

Tragic times were those but prophetic of great and beneficent changes. We have fallen upon more tragic days, but days filled to the full with interest and hope.

VII

Peace

A League of Nations

Of all the proposals to ensure world peace, a League of Nations is foremost. It is the means of organizing and making effective the reason and good intentions of the world. It is the one hope of a speedy and permanent realization of a new order. But such a league implies many things not yet clearly understood and for which in thought and attitude we are not fully prepared. Even the Allies are not free from a trace of imperialism; old-fashioned diplomacy is still in evidence; absolute sovereignty is jealously guarded. We talk of self-determination for all peoples, but are we ready to hold colonial possessions simply in trust for the day of self-rule, to agree to a common control for uncivilized regions and small turbulent states, and to rectify boundaries impartially? We advo-

cate democratic policies, but are we ready to elect delegates to an international conference who represent the people and not secret diplomacy? We have not forgotten the Holy Alliance. We recognize that absolute national sovereignty henceforth is impossible, but are we ready to sacrifice freedom to association as the American colonial states sacrificed for the United States? We know that a league to be useful must be strong, but are we ready for a parliament of parliaments, a supreme court, the submission of all disputes, restraint from war, regulation of the seas, control of trade, and distribution of products? Would we, after a genuine conversion of outlaw nations, admit them on equal terms and forego a commercial war? These are troublesome questions which must be met and the sooner we set about the business the better. Modern nations are interdependent. Whatever concerns all should come under common control. A league alone can prevent world disaster, and yet we hesitate and delay. A league should be formed now. The Allies should lead and

invite cooperation of neutrals, looking forward to the time when the hostile powers may sincerely desire to unite with them under peace and justice. The movement would define and promote the ideals for which the Allies stand, would formulate principles and plans and thresh out problems, gather strength for a joint peace conference, and give present help to neutral nations. If European statesmen are not ready for such a league, the people are ready—and here and now. English labor is for it. In the United States the movement is more in the hands of leaders, but the people, if less enthusiastic, would accept it as the reasonable and inevitable outcome of world events.

Causes of the War

The complex of causes leading to the war is not easily analyzed, and no two persons will completely agree on the chief factors. Even a list of causes cannot be made without cross-classification. We may name (1) the European "concerts," (2) a

specific act of the "Powers," (3) the conflicting interests of certain nations, (4) general causes. Two others are added, one particular, the other general: (5) Pan-Germanism, (6) belated altruism (survival of savage instincts and primitive ideas).

(1) Under the first head we place the artificial map-making of the congress of Vienna in 1815, regardless of natural and just boundaries; the Holy Alliance which turned toward unholy oppression and autocracy; the sensitive Balance of Power which finally tipped on the side of war; the Concert of Europe which, with many inharmonious elements, naturally ended in horrible discord; the recent alliances which split Europe into two hostile groups.

(2) We may locate the cause in the Balkan "muddles." The revision by the Powers in 1878 of Russia's peace with Turkey left unstable conditions among the Balkan states, and a smouldering resentment in Russia, kept alive by Austria's high-handed act in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. The situation was complicated by the results of the Second

Balkan War in 1913, adverse to the interests of Austria and Germany.

(3) "Pan-Slavism," "Pan-Germanism," French resentment for lost provinces, English fear of a growing menace, have their distinct place in the list.

(4) If we state the causes in general terms, these appear fundamental: (a) nationalism, (b) form of government, (c) militarism, (d) competition. (a) Nationality may be an evil or a good, according to the institutions and spirit of a given people. For hundreds of years great nations have been forming in Europe, and notably in the last half century. A nation is self-conscious; it has its history, its sentiments, its ideals and ambitions. It may indulge a pride amounting to fanaticism, and be supersensitive to national honor. The feeling of race superiority may become "ethical insanity." A powerful nation with imperial aims means war. Were it not for internationalism, and democratic ideas, wars would be perpetual. (b) The autocratic form of government, with ruler irresponsible to the people, with an exclusive

aristocracy, a government operated by subservient officials and bureaucrats, has always been a menace. (c) Add to autocracy a military system, led by an ambitious clique whose influence dominates the civil power, and the nation is already poised for war. (d) Then comes a demand for commercial and territorial expansion, backed by capital, manufacturers of arms, and speculators, and an aggressive war follows, accompanied with a dream of world empire.

(5) Pan-Germanism is held most prominent as the cause of this war. Elsewhere I have traced a chain of events starting near the beginning of this century in Germany's expansion policy, and ending in the occasion found in the murder of the heir to an imperial throne.

(6) But the basic cause of war is the half-savage ideas and sentiments remaining in an age of growing reason and altruism. Until there is a more complete mental revelation and spiritual conversion, wars will not cease. Occasions for war can always be found and justified by specious

reasons; combustible material is plenty, but it is not necessary to apply the torch. Usually a nation may choose between a policy of war or a policy of peace with honor. If it makes an unjust war, it is led by a false idea of permanent advantage through aggression, and by a false spirit that would gain the world at loss of the national soul.

Accepted Arguments Against War

Here are arguments against war which are generally accepted:

There is no complete analogy between the development of the lower species and that of human society. Germany has turned biological laws applicable to the brute world to her own use. Human nature, possessed of reason and moral sense, stands above any assumed rigid law of survival of the fittest by physical struggle. Men and nations are fit in proportion to their use of justice. In the long run, right, not might, prevails; else there would be no civilization. In the brute world the

species develops by adaptation to environment; groups of the same or different species do not fight each other. War has already ceased to have a survival value for a single nation, except in defense against unjust attack; and the nations are so interrelated that war means the self-destruction of the human species. In short, common sense rejects any biological argument based on a questioned scientific truth applied by false analogies.

Human nature changes, and may change from hatred toward good will. This is proven by the growth of humanitarian sentiment through many centuries and the universal horror today at one nation's brutality. No doubt we have all the instincts that dwelt in the breast of the primitive savage; but they are regulated by ideas and sentiments. Europe is thinking now, thinking as never before—is thinking in terms of mankind's higher interests. The world is reconstructing its ideals, is balancing insanity by reason, and the law of the strong by rights for all.

The manly virtues do not depend upon

war. Arguments to the contrary fail to estimate justly the Christian virtues and the possible devotions to work, ideals, and causes. The argument that the war impulse is irresistible, is bound to break out, ignores the substitutes for war found in the constructive work of civilization. Mr. Bryce shows that history does not prove war to be necessary to the progress of nations.

Political and commercial advantage, of permanent value, is not gained by wars—the arguments are lengthy and well known. The only expansion for today is the spread of civilization throughout the world, by which all nations gain, the spread of ideas and world ethics, by peaceful and natural means, until they gradually reach peoples left behind in the march of progress.

The growth of arbitration is a fact of moral significance. Peace advocates point triumphantly to the history of arbitration, to the century of Anglo-American peace, to the scores of treaties bearing arbitration clauses between the restless South American States, to the hundreds of such

treaties now in existence between the nations of the world, to the ever increasing tendency to use this agency for the settlement of disputes. Understanding and agreement may lead to far results. Peace leagues refer to the United States of America, the United States of Switzerland, the United States of Germany, and argue that, for common good, security, and peace, there may be a United States of Europe.

Things Making for Peace

Change of mental and moral attitude shown by acceptance of certain principles just described is in itself significant, but we may give space to other things making for peace.

This war turns the whole world toward a possible millennium. Granted, the disasters of war have not been deterrent in the past, spite of the billions of lives and the hundreds of billions of wealth sacrificed in the world's history to the god of war. But this war, with its vast engines of destruction, seeming to portend the ruin of

civilization, appalls mankind. They would bind the devil for a thousand years, or forever, and free the world from his devastations and influences.

When this war is rightly ended, the lesson to aggressive imperialism should be conclusive and final. The city-state of Athens, some centuries before the Christian era, became intoxicated with the sense of power. Had not she the genius for leadership, the superior culture? Should not her influence penetrate the known world? She became aggressive, made her allies tributary, aroused the fear and hatred of the other states, and met the inevitable fate. The fate of Rome with world wide power, Spain with her conquests, Napoleon with his ambitions, Germany with her dream of empire, a dream to be shattered, teaches a truth that no nation will henceforth forget—Imperialism is doomed.

Reason gains ground, reason as against passion and prejudice and blind will. Progress comes through reason and the altruism that should accompany reason.

The glory of war is no longer sung. In the typical "War Poems" the tone is tragic but prophetic of new things. Moral evolution has made a swift move. Never before in the history of wars has there been such a regard for world opinion, such a sensitiveness to world criticism, such efforts at justification.

Spite of the world's temporary madness, perhaps because of it, the Christian message of good will and peace is reaching the heart of nations—and this is the chief factor for peace. Hate has a less survival value than in the early days of savagery and battle. There is a balance of altruism in society, else society would not hold together. Men work for charity and reform, for humanity, regardless of self-interest; and they will work, "the field the world, for life and death, for the body and the eternal soul."

Peace movements have only a temporary halt. The many peace organizations in this and other countries with their large membership, working under various names but with a common purpose, will spring

into new energy. Reason is replacing mere sentiment in these movements, and plans of a fundamental character are taking form. For instance, a group of international lawyers, economists, and historians are working scientifically on international relations. They advocate internationalism through the evolution of institutions, juridical, legislative, and administrative. Their idea is to make the nations "friendly and cooperative equals in the progress of civilization."

Internationalism is growing. As has been pointed out, there may be a world community of ideas and religion, there is a universal republic of science, art, and letters. There is an International Tribunal for arbitration at The Hague. Nations make treaties; they use a uniform admiralty law. There are postal and telegraph unions, a navigation congress—a long list of common interests and cooperative efforts. All international associations, congresses, and exhibitions, add to the list of peace agencies. Capital, labor, socialism in all countries have each

a unity of purpose. Most of the nations are now federated in a common cause. This fact may have a decisive influence, and show the way to a world union. All these things cut across boundaries; they promote amity and prepare the way for universal peace.

Scheme for Peace

How war may be banished from civilization is occupying the minds of men next to the immediate issue of the present struggle. It has become an ideal motive of the Allies in continuing the conflict; they are united, not only to fight the common enemy, but to war to a finish on the causes of war. The literature of the period is filled with basic propositions and practical schemes. As showing the focussing of thought in this country, the most important document yet issued is the result of a referendum, under the direction of the National Economic League, on "The Most Practicable Means of Promoting International Peace." In the order of choice

the means to be employed are as follows—(1) League to Enforce Peace, with these agencies: (a) Judicial Tribunal; (b) Council of Conciliation; (c) Sanction by Economic Non-Intercourse or Executive Force; (d) Conferences to Codify Law. (2) Education to Foster International Friendship. (3) Freedom of the Seas. (4) Immunity of Innocent Private Property at Sea. (5) Free Trade. (6) Government Ownership of Military Factories. (7) Publicity and Public Opinion. (8) Moral Considerations Applying to Christianity.

Opinion turns most strongly toward some kind of federation to insure peace, on the ground that material agencies are necessary to make effective the awakened conscience and reason of the world. It opposes cooperation for mutual benefit to aim at world power, organization to conquest, unity to enforced uniformity. Each nation is to yield part of its sovereignty to international organization. Many believe that the Hague Conferences have a demonstrated value, and that agencies for

international understanding should center at The Hague. Here should be an International Court of Justice for the settlement of all justiciable disputes, a Council of Conciliation for controversies not falling under the first head, and a Court of Arbitral Justice. Here the nations should meet to construct a body of International Law; from here should develop a Parliament of Parliaments. The idea of limited sovereignty is fundamental. Whatever the form of government, each nation in relation to all others is autocratic, a law to itself. All independent states are supreme in themselves, and can no more live in peace than can an assemblage of anarchists. The thirteen original American states gained liberty when they surrendered part of their sovereignty to the Union. The world will gain lasting freedom and peace when a league is formed, with the consent of all nations, that has real power. "Humanity henceforth must come before nationality; sovereignty henceforth must be qualified; there must be a world state, a new charter of liberty, a

state in which there are no non-justiciable questions."

The fundamental problem is to turn peoples from suspicions and hostilities to sympathy and tolerance, to convert them from the provincial to the international mind. A campaign of education will encounter the history and traditions of a Europe which still has imperialistic ambitions, and measures greatness by military power. With the "democratic mind" would come a world league, and a policy of justice toward weak and backward nations.

"Freedom of the Seas" would be included in a league of peace, and this would mean "Immunity of Innocent Private Property at Sea." "By freedom of the seas is not meant any necessary control over the naval policy of any particular nation, but merely that those humane and progressive policies as to the protection of private property and the lives of private citizens from the ravages of naval warfare, which the United States pressed so vigorously at the Hague Conferences, and which

have already secured a large measure of support in Great Britain itself, shall be accepted as controlling international policy and as an integral part of international law."

Free trade by international agreement, or by action of governments interested in commercial expansion, in the view of many, is indispensable. Certain regions could be internationalized for trade purposes. Inequality of opportunity in trade and commercial rivalry are prominent among causes of war. As to the sixth proposition among the means of promoting peace, government ownership of military factories, limiting the field for greed and speculation, would reduce the probability of war.

If secret diplomacy, spy systems, and methods of intrigue were abandoned, if policies were exposed to public judgment and the government were responsible to its decisions, a chief danger of war would be removed. As to the eighth article in the referendum, the Christian principle of

good will has already been urged. Other remedies, outside this formal list, are: Crushing of militarism, reduction of armaments, access to the seas, abandonment of alliances, extension of democracy, democratic rather than autocratic determination of policies—giving assurance of honor in agreements and observance of treaties.

Of all these agencies, a peace league, education, and the extension of good will are the fundamental ones. The comprehensive plan of a league for peace includes all nations. Because the world is not ready for universal brotherhood and a universal agreement might prove only a "scrap of paper," the beginning of a world league might be confined to the Allies, or to the European nations. A proposed alternative is this: several leagues—European under the leadership of the Allies; American led by the United States and the A. B. C. countries; Asiatic led by Japan; Africa to be controlled by a European Congress. The three leagues might come together at The Hague.

Nationality. Rights of Small Nations

The principle of nationality as applied to large nations is feared, while it is insisted upon to preserve the rights of small nations. For centuries the tendency has been toward the forming of fragments of related peoples into strong nations with the addition of adjacent non-related elements by conquest. This is illustrated by the cementing of France, the gradual accessions to Russia, the unification of Italy and of Germany. All these countries have the characteristic elements of nationality—geographical continuity, political unity, community of thought, and oneness of purpose. The "national mind" may develop a pride beyond rational limits, and regard the state with a religious reverence. Germany is a marked example of "self-conscious, self-centered nationalism." State worship and race pride are fanatical. "Nations are more human than economic. National rivalry is three-fourths to nine-tenths emotional, sentimental, historical, visionary, compact of

pride and affection, ticklish to a point of honor.'' No wonder that nationality is prominent as a cause of war! The hope of the optimists for a coming ''better world'' is in the growth of democratic institutions, of internationalism, and the spirit of amity.

In the literature of the day, nothing is more prominent and popular than the plea for the rights of the weak, and for the unity and independence of peoples related by race, language, tradition, literature, geography, or common aspirations. The sentiment is increased by the fact of the recent revival of national feeling among many subordinate races as in Austria-Hungary. No more violations of the principle of nationality! No more conquests of imperialism! No more domination by force of small states! No more dismemberments, and forced unions of unrelated elements under one rule! No more unnatural groupings—sources of unrest and revenge! Political and territorial integrity for large and small states is proclaimed by President Wilson. Freedom

for self-development must be extended to all races. Relation to larger states must be determined by free choice. The needs and wishes of a people, "the voice of the nation," giving its formal consent, must decide its destiny. Justice must govern the fixing of boundaries. Small states must have equal economic opportunities with the powerful. Backward races have a right to evolution according to their nature and genius. Even in the treatment of colonies, the desire of the people, as well as the interest of the government, is to be considered.

Integration of related units is a possible outcome of world changes. This is illustrated by the formulated aims of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. "Nations associated geographically or historically, or united in pursuit of common ends, and cherishing like hopes" may come together in political union. "Each nation has its own duty, genius, gift, and entity, with consciousness and faith in itself. Every social entity is a workshop of humanity." History shows the value of small states,

each working according to its own genius, in their contributions to civilization—to religion, philosophy, science, and art. Mr. Bryce points out instances of this as seen in Greece, Italy in the Renaissance Period, Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia, England in the period of Shakespeare, Germany before the imperial union, and the United States in its early history.

Nationality Applied

The application of the principle of nationality will encounter almost insuperable difficulties; each case would be determined by a balance of conditions. Here are some of the problems: Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein torn from their former and more natural alliances by conquest; Trieste and the Trentino, on racial grounds belonging to Italy; Armenia, Palestine, and Arabia, subjected by invasion, the first the constant victim of fanaticism and horrible savagery; Poland and Finland, the former dismembered, the latter hitherto the victim of despotism;

a part of Macedonia, occupied by Bulgarians; the Rumanian population included in Austro-Hungary. There is a projected union of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, involving Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and perhaps Dalmatia; they are kept apart by imperial interests and national rivalries. There is a conceivable federation of the Christian Balkan States; there is a possible United States of Russia, and of Austro-Hungary; the latter may break up and the racial groups adhere to kindred peoples. The situation is complicated by the present relation of the Russian border provinces to the Central Powers, and by Germany's pretended adoption and peculiar application of the doctrine of "states' rights." The realization of hopes will not come by a sudden wrenching apart of existing institutions; it will come by a slow development through the irresistable forces of right and reason.

VIII

Constructive Work

Introduction

Reconstruction to repair the ruins of war, to establish industry and credit, to restore the order of civil government and normal conditions, and to organize reforms and adaptations in a changed world will first engage the thought and effort of mankind. But this is a passing phase and we are more concerned with the permanent influences of the war on the use of constructive energy. The subject has two bearings—as a substitute for war, and as practically applied.

Moral Equivalents for War

All social study recognizes the natural reactions against monotony, the desire for the "extreme," the need of something "big" enough to satisfy the tremendous

impulse for adventure which may rise to the explosion point. To discharge pent up energy is one reason why men fight. When, like Hamlet, one could "drink up Esill or eat a crocodile" he is in a dangerous mood. We have not fully availed ourselves of the moral equivalents of war. There are many remedies. To illustrate, one may seek recreation, or climb mountains, or swear a little if he believes the Almighty will understand. If the case is extreme, he may try the north pole, or meet contagion and death in the cause of medical science. He may expose himself to danger in rescue, or on nerve-testing points of structural work. He may renounce wealth and career for some humane reform, or vow himself to poverty and religion. He may display Emerson's heroism of "principle, virtue, and austerity." Heroic remedies are not always in order and milder treatment may be effective. Substitute some other dominant idea, sentiment, or mood. "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast." The Old Testament Saul was subject to dark moods, a

general unreasonable grouch, when he probably kicked the dog, abused his intimates, and scourged his menials or cut off their heads. On one occasion, his friends sent for the youthful David who came with his harp and played a soothing tune, and the evil spirit of Saul departed. A sane philosophy of life may change the whole mental tone, find joy in work and in the glories of the world. From the humblest cottage, one may look forth through the open door on field and stream and forest, may in imagination sail remote seas and view enchanted isles, or look upward to the stars, to the borderland of the finite, to the Invisible Power. In a world at peace are objectives for every worthy great impulse. The sacrifice of war may be turned to construction—to the beautiful, and the true, and the limitless offices of good will.

Construction

We are looking forward to the constructive work of the world which may be the source of interests greater than the

war instinct. Work has a new value; it has become a duty, an ideal. It is patriotism, prayer, religion; it rebuilds; it images a new world fashioned by its creative mind and skilled hand; it would replace a shattered civilization by a new model expressing the finest and best in the soul of man.

The world's constructive work may be classed under a few heads: Material interests—as agriculture, industry, business, commerce, engineering; science—as discovery, invention, medicine; reform—as social progress, class justice, efficiency of government; art—as architecture, sculpture, poetry; education—reorganized in aims and results; practical philosophy—as attitude toward work, attitude toward life, rational faith. After the war, we shall face a world in which men have been trained to service, duty, and efficiency. The lazy, indifferent, and unprepared, and the slackers must meet changed conditions. The opportunities for reconstruction and upbuilding will be limitless. Science in agriculture, good roads, improved homes,

and increased social intercourse will give new zest to rural life. Zeal and happiness in material work will depend upon skill, means of comfort, and opportunity for a reasonable ambition. Industry will more and more secure these conditions. On the farm or in the factory, we may apply old Plato's idea of perfect types in producing richer varieties or superior fabrics. There is every opportunity for Napoleonic genius in large business, which may be conducted, not only for gain, but for the love of it, and hence may become a romance. Arnold Bennett, in his flying glimpses of America, saw its poetry in modern railroad stations, huge lighting and power plants, great department stores, reaching the need of lonely western ranches—all representing pride in accomplishment and perfection of work. The discovery of principles or their application may become an all absorbing interest, with a creative vision. And medicine, employing science and sentiment, may become the struggle to preserve what God made in his own image. Today reform may combine the wisdom of

history, new revelations, and the power of inspiration, in its aim to build a new civilization. The publicist, the official may work to secure the government's backing of every needed investigation of the conditions of progress. Great causes, great deeds, and great ideas, every constructive activity in practical fields, should tend to create a new and rich art. The time is not unlike that of the Italian Renaissance, when men had large visions, and believed they were about to make a new heaven and a new earth. Education is a field for the highest ability and ambition; scholarship and science should help the upbuilding in a newly creative world. Finally constructive work will be found in promoting a civic morale—faith, courage, and will; a saving philosophy of life; a belief that this is a rational world, with a purpose to be realized, destined to be a success, that each may play a part in its realization, and that all right work has an eternal value. We may turn to Christian principles as a panacea for human ills—not yet fairly tried. The age imposes two supreme

duties: to convert destructive energy into constructive forms; to make an ideal of all progress.

"I, too, haughty Shade, also sing War, and a
longer and greater one than any * *
* * * * * * * the field the world,
For life and death, for the Body and for the
eternal Soul."

America's Mission

America has proven equal to the demand of the time. This is shown in the yielding of private rights for the public good, the offerings of wealth, the loyalty of labor, the limitations in the homes, the massing of resources, the march of millions, and the growing crimson flood of sacrifice. She has broadened her views, become less provincial, has learned the problems at home and their connection with this period of mighty changes, and, I believe, will deal wisely with the coming reconstructions. She has shared in the new revelations and spiritual insights and understands all human relations and the world better. She has en-

tered the great struggle, and is ready to take a part in the problems affecting all nations and help form world policies. Her interest and sympathy reach beyond our own boundaries and are world wide. We should help enlighten the world because our purpose is unclouded by selfishness; it is a purpose greater than our own interest, the defense of human rights. We should be strong in leading the nations toward an enduring peace.

America, in ways, should be an example, and an influence potent in the revolutions and changes to come. First, America should extend the ideals of her free and progressive institutions. Our government is democratic; its acts are open and subject to public approval. It holds national greatness to consist in material prosperity and the general good—better industrial, social, political, and educational conditions; it looks forward to a more complete democracy, and a creative national purpose. It has the spirit which frees and amalgamates foreign elements from all countries. The universities may join in a

propaganda of democracy against the traditions and history of Europe—oppose freedom to despotism, right to might, progress to fixed ideas and conditions. Second, America should stand, not only for a democratic world, but for a united world. It may promote free intercourse among nations, peaceful rivalry in commerce and science and education, justice and good will. Third, America should reveal moral power, oppose a higher and stronger force to the forces destructive of civilization. This nation should stand for "super-resistance." Super-resistance "loves humanity more than it hates bloodshed." It places a greater ideal above lesser motives; it constructs rather than destroys; it loves more than it hates. It liberates from intolerance, enlightens autocracy by democratic principles, and opposes moral enthusiasm to the deadly sin of lazy indifference and to the devil's ethics. In peace it opposes pacifism to war; but in a just war it crushes militarism by a greater militarism. Fourth, America may develop a literature, both American

and universal, an idea well set forth by one of our best writers. The nation is passing through suffering and trial; its intellectual and emotional life is enlarged. There should result that "fine, sensitive, complex consciousness of life" favorable to a high order of literature. May we not have a literature which will not only express the national thought and feeling, but reach the whole world as something fresh, vigorous, and freighted with a universal message?

IX

Education

Criticisms of German Culture

Disraeli once spoke of Germany as a "nation of damned professors." A recent article on the cause of the war ascribed it to the "damned fool professors," English and American, who, by their worship of German education and German institutions, turned the head of the nation. I hesitate to use attacks on German culture and scholarship made in the heat of battle, but the hostile criticisms may balance the exaggerated view of all things German, held by many scholars for some decades. They will enlighten and help clarify thought on educational ideals, especially in their relation to the state. Hence they should be of value in Germany as well as in America. We have more than acknowledged in the past our indebtedness to Germany for the great and inspiring part of her philosophy,

her scholarship and research, her universities and gymnasia, technical and vocational schools, and the helpful relation of learning to the state. The facts and views quoted below may guard us against certain evils and dangers, and strengthen our confidence in some of our own aims and methods. In contrast with Kultur, culture stands forth clearly as a vital element in education. A false philosophy has wrought the ruin of a nation; we must construct a philosophy based on ethical grounds. We are warned against the tendency toward merely narrow, mechanical, practical methods and aims in science. We should be more conscious of the fact that the highest efficiency is spiritual, and that all learning, even the most practical, should be penetrated with a sense of absolute values. We see the dangers of teaching patriotism on false grounds, of distorting history and exaggerating national greatness. A dictated and fixed political science has "anachronized" Germany; free political thought in American education makes for progress. The quotations are

necessarily fragmentary and brief, and are presented, not always in exact form, but in substance:

"Kultur is the organized efficiency of a nation in the broadest sense; it is a successful achievement in civil and military administration; in industry, commerce and finance; and, in a secondary way, in scholarship, letters, and art. Kultur applies to the nation as a whole. Kultur stereotypes a people in a rigid administration-frame, makes a regimented state. The Spartans, Macedonians, and Romans had Kultur; Germany is its modern exponent. The Kultur of Prussianized Germany is metallic and half-mechanical. Culture is the opposite of Kultur. It is an attribute, not of a nation, but of individuals. The aim of culture is the enlightened and humane individual, acquainted with the best values of the past and present. Culture is a balanced and humanized state of mind only remotely connected with scholarship or education. Culture liberates while Kultur galvanizes. Culture is opposed to a strictly regimented humanity, it is potentially destructive to a highly organized nation. States that have inherited culture, or aspire to it, have a more flexible civilization. Germany has little culture — remains in the Spartan and Macedonian stage. German culture is scientific barbarism. Quite enough

Kultur in the world! But the nations of culture have much to learn from German Kultur."

"In Germany foreign genius is treated as tribal booty, carried to a tribal home. Foreign models are given back coarsened. Germany has not become cosmopolitan. Germany has no social world of her own. Prussia, outside of four or five warriors and statesmen, has produced no great men. It has done little in art and letters. Beethoven was a Belgian, Kant a Scotchman. Germany is not first in science or music or fine arts or philosophy. Germany's philosophy is her undoing. Germany is great in lower activities."

"German scholarship, a minor expression of Kultur not related to culture, is chiefly accurate, laborious, and small-minded. The world wants scholarship with a soul. Germany leads the world in applied science; it has a genius for plodding science. German science is mechanical; it appeals to neither judgment nor sense; it deals with things and the outer husk of humanity; it gives power, and for that it is employed."

"During the last half century or more the Germans have varied or developed remarkably in the direction of organization, of material efficiency, state supremacy, and war, but they have varied less than their neighbors in the direction of true culture, of humanism, altruism, refinement of spirit, political liberty, and of the

other virtues that make for a noble disinterested people. Hence their military advantage in this war, and their disadvantage as concerns the sympathy and good will of the rest of the world. They are fittest to survive by reason of their power; they are least fit by reason of their brutality. Terrorists by training, slaves by habit and bullies by profession, void of humility, void of spirituality, resourceful but not inventive, thorough but not original, docile as individuals but brazen and defiant as a nation, the rest of the world can live on terms of peace and good will with them only after their utter defeat."

"Prussian ideas have a large place in textbook and schoolroom. In their impressionable years, children are taught blind obedience to the state, loyalty to the mighty house of Hohenzollern, devotion to the principle of monarchy — monarchy which is protector of family, freedom, justice, and general welfare. They are taught the infallibility of the fatherland — the greatness of the material civilization, the excellence of the culture and achievements, the greatness of spirit — and thus national egoism, and exaggerated race consciousness are promoted. Foreign history is held valuable only as related to German history. They are taught regarding colonization, greater power by land and sea, a larger place in the sun, Pan-Germanism, revival of the old boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire."

"The German Gymnasiast, of an age corresponding to that of our high school boys, presented a compound of solid learning and extraordinary academic maturity, with a feudal political mentality that could be described intelligently to an Anglo-Saxon only by the term 'arrested political development.' Every school boy in Germany was made to feel himself the future defender of not only the boundaries but of the genius of his country against an obviously inferior and covertly jealous world."

Factors

The character of education is determined by the history, dominant philosophy, and needs of a people. This I have attempted to illustrate in another work. "Philosophy" is here used to include religion, political and social doctrines, the theory of the state, and the conception of the ideal man. It includes the evolutionary and scientific attitudes as well as the static and speculative. Discussion of the effect of the war on American educational ideals is but a particular application of a general principle. Coming changes will be due to a modified political, social, and humane

philosophy, and to the needs imposed by war and the reorganizations to follow. The subject is presented under the heads of Efficiency, Obligation to the State, Democracy, and Humane Ideals; we attempt to show how these conceptions are modified by current history, and the effect on education.

The emergencies of the war have made practical demands on education for many branches of government service, and they have been generously met. But adaptation for an immediate purpose may have no enduring effect. We are more concerned with the permanent changes likely to spring from the new time-spirit. Four formal agencies are now at work on present and future problems of education. (1) The American Council on Education represents the national associations of "American Colleges" and "State Universities" and "American Universities," the "Catholic Educational Association," and the "Department of Superintendence of the N. E. A." Other associations and organizations of an educational character

are included in regular or associate membership. The functions of this Council are comprehensive. (2) The Special Committee of the War Department on Education and Special Training relates the schools to war service. (3) The Commission of the N. E. A. on the National Emergency in Education covers both particular and general problems. (4) The National Research Council is expected to unify and guide research in departments at Washington, in universities, and in private laboratories. These formal commissions, centered at the Capital, have been cooperating for several months. It should be noted that, besides these, many agencies are working on educational reconstruction.

What the colleges and universities have already done to aid the government is well known. And now they are cooperating in the formation of the Students' Army Training Corps by the voluntary enlistment of students while in school, and in giving publicity to the plan. They have joined in the propaganda regarding the war, its causes and aims. In this and in

more important ways the work of the commissions is in evidence. They would give education its full place, relate it to all the interests of the nation, and secure representation in the Cabinet for the Department of Education. It is proposed to have educational attachés at the embassies, and to effect a closer relation between the educational forces of this and of other countries to the end of good understanding and the spread of constructive ideas of the new age. They will endeavor to improve science teaching in the college classrooms and in technical and medical schools, and to stimulate research.

The very fact of the movement is encouraging. If no more, it may break in upon tradition and open the way to new thought. The special war activities of education can but react upon the regular curriculum. To the special and general programme drawn up by the commissions, much is to be added. Let them include such commonplace but vital things as restoring the old-fashioned virtues of application and perseverance, teaching public duty, inculcat-

ing the spirit of democracy, and building character and humane sentiment. Let them induce the colleges and universities to join elementary education in study of the whole problem—saving of two years in school and college (now generally acknowledged to be feasible); selecting subject matter wisely; improving methods; and relating all training to some end. The colleges and universities must undertake critical self-examination. The American university must become distinctly a university. But, after all, certain fundamental ideas of education, whose worth is more fully revealed by events, will endure. In illustration I can do no better than quote from the English Education Bill drawn especially for the war period:

"The new generation must still be acquainted with the capacities and ideals of mankind as expressed in literature and art, with its achievements and ambitions as recorded in history, and with the nature and laws of the world as interpreted by science, philosophy, and religion."

Efficiency

Germany has taught the world a great lesson of efficiency on both its positive and its negative side. The positive lesson England and the United States have learned in time of great emergency, an emergency that has focussed all the national energies on a definite and quick result of supreme importance. Such a test exposes any weakness of government, injustice in the social order, waste in the competitions of business and the strife of classes, and lack of national unity. It makes known the percentage of the physically defective and the mentally incapable, of the ignorant and unskilled, and the failures of education. We cannot doubt that education will be radically disturbed and that changes will follow.

The efficiency ideal in education, considered alone, would place greater stress on economy, vocations, service, care of the unhealthy and the weak, will-training. In all grades economy of matter, method, energy, and time will be sought.

The curriculum will be modernized. Every study will be reexamined with view to its absolute and relative value, material or spiritual. Whatever of the past, whatever of traditional subjects and methods have a superior worth may be retained, but there will be many adaptations to new educational aims. Education will be clearly related to life and work. Preparation for vocations will be more insistent. Pupils will be made ready for some definite useful thing. Science with all its applications will come more to the front. In American universities the departments of chemistry, biology, engineering, commerce, teaching, medicine, and public health will be strengthened. In England, Cambridge will become more scientific and Oxford will be reorganized. The schools will have a greater responsibility for the health of pupils, for educating the sub-normal and adapting them to suitable occupations, and for the condition of the idle who are untrained in skill or will power. I predict that somewhere, in some way, will be retained in adapted form the idea of disci-

pline, a thing lacking in the methods of the day which deal too much in temperamental choice and relatively unimportant and fragmentary matter — "jackdaw collections, producing a miscellaneous incompetence." The mind must be trained to take up a piece of work, use initiative, determine all the factors, carry it to a finish, and clean up the job at the end. The pupil should do what he sets out to do, and in grim earnest. We need men who think surely, plan thoroughly, and act strongly. Will-training means education that not only organizes the faculties to group the elements of a complete enterprise and persevere to a finish, but which gives self-possession, moral self-control, and soul-strength, the character, which in a republic is the essential of citizenship.

Obligation to the State

Public duty has an added meaning. Here again Germany both teaches lessons and warns of dangers. There is a difference between slavish obedience and free

devotion. We have, too, a powerful lesson in the call of men to service. Socialism is making its demands, and labor questions are at the front. These facts point to the effective teaching of patriotism and altruism, the rights of all classes, and social science—the study of conditions and reforms. While war is exalting patriotism, many see dangers of unduly promoting national pride, and of distorting views of other peoples. Ideas of country and all that it stands for may be deeply implanted in youth. Results in Germany and France are illustrations. The German instruction, exaggerated beyond bounds, filled with the doctrine of might, is forever condemned. The French schools emphasize patriotism, but also right and truth, and the difference appears in the character of the French people. America has a clear ideal in upholding duty to country, showing the blessings of free institutions, and our real accomplishments and just aims, while setting forth the truth about other nations. In the United States, a few years ago, a new study was announced—Civics; and all

saw in it the approaching millennium, the making of a generation of good citizens. And, behold, it consisted in committing to memory the Constitution of the United States, as profitable in early years as formally repeating the Decalogue. To be of value, the study of good citizenship must create understanding, interest, feeling, and duty. Begin, for instance, with the postman, bringing the service of the nation and the world to the door; the home with its fostering care; the school with its free opportunity; the dependence upon society for everything that makes life worth living, society without which the individual would be a cave-dwelling savage; the heritage from the past of invention, thought, wisdom, wrought out by ages of struggle and mistakes and contritions. Then the pupil may be impressed with the fact that, if he owes everything to society, he should make some kind of return. After such preparation, he may tackle organized society—the Constitution and the machinery of government. The condition of the unfortunate, the rights of

all classes should enlist the pupil's sympathy. And interest may be aroused by simple illustrations of need, of our dependence on labor, and of the necessary uses of capital. Science will enter the social field with hope of fruitful discovery in the collection of facts, the establishing of principles, and the reform of conditions. Mr. H. G. Wells points out the possibilities of the "new novel" in discussing any and every phase of human nature in social relations, in making studies in story form of all the questions of the day, in stimulating thought and imparting wisdom.

Democracy

The reactions against autocracy, and the consequent growth of democracy will chiefly affect the study of history and of our institutions. History will be less the record of kings and battles, but more of the gradual emancipation—mental, religious, political, and economic—of the human race. It will be the record of essential progress. History and kindred subjects will receive

more attention. Broad and accurate knowledge of the past, and of society is essential in steering safely between the dangerous rocks of autocracy and anarchy. The leadership of the universities in the applications of history and in political development will gain in importance. The universities must relate themselves closely to public problems. Faculties and graduates should be a directive force in public thought. Students from all classes of society, trained to the "scientific mind" and taught sane ideals, should contribute to a well-balanced plan for the future of American institutions. With growing governmental activities, calling for increased departments and for commissions constructive and regulative, with investigations of all conditions of national welfare from agriculture to public health and the general morale, may we not hope for a national university that will center these activities or relate itself to them, and lead discovery in every field of our civilization? And it will be a duty of the schools to point out the inevitableness, the reasonableness,

and the desirablesness of free institutions. Without arrogant pride, in the spirit of truth and right, they should set forth national ideals, and the genius and mission of our people. There is promise in extending education to all the people, to the end that the meaning of free government may be made clear, citizenship may become more devoted, thought may be advanced, and aims elevated.

Humane Ideals

The German doctrine of might and its relentless use turns the world toward common brotherhood, and all the virtues that should be the glory of a people. The German education is viewed with suspicion; its effects are startling to the former worshippers at its shrines. It lacks real culture. Its science is soulless, its history is provincial, its religion is Germanic, its ethics is a misnomer, lacking moral sense. Other nations have retained and developed something of the best in ancient and modern culture, which tempers the spirit

and adorns life. We are to have a new humanism, not the formal and dry classical study which unfortunately followed the real revival of learning at the Renaissance, not the refinement of an exclusive few, but a humanism based on history, sociology, literature, and ethics, and imbued with the humanitarian spirit. It will mean, not the perfection of a learned caste, but the betterment of all. It will not foster aristocratic pride, but tolerance and good will.

We must have efficiency and character. but in our education we cannot overemphasize the humane sentiments. Every great and generous impulse should be quickened, not only for its worth in the sum of life values, but for the attitude toward men in all relations—the new spirit of humanity, inter-class and inter-nation brotherhood. The youth of our land, fashioned in knowledge and tempered by events, will not falter in purpose or fail in effort in the new world of opportunity and moral imperatives. They will view life with more seriousness, the heart will beat higher, the vision will be clearer, the

strength greater. Education that includes heart and mind is the safety of the republic, giving perception of truth, steadiness of view, but also a sense of higher interests. It is this kind of education that has sent from the schools, colleges, and universities their best in the crusade to recover, restore, and guard whatever in the world is sacred.

X

Lessons from "The Renaissance"

Preface. The Race Theory

This chapter is a study of the five historic dramas entitled "The Renaissance" by Count Arthur de Gobineau. The study includes the lengthy and important "Preface" by the editor, Dr. Oscar Levy. This preface gives a view of Gobineau's race theory set forth in "The Inequality of Human Races," and that of Houston Stewart Chamberlain in "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century." Dr. Levy occupies much of the space with his own hostile attitude toward democracy and Christianity.

This was written primarily as a comprehensive view of the dramas, largely by means of illustrative quotations, though, incidentally, as throwing light on problems forced to the front by the present war. I leave it as written, because it may lead

to the reading of the dramas for their literary and philosophic value.

The lessons to be drawn from "The Renaissance" are: vital Christianity as contrasted with the extremes of formalism and fanaticism, true freedom in contrast with license, regulated power in contrast with tyranny, high hopes for the age on which we are entering. Italy was Christian, but its religion was represented on the one extreme by a formal and then degenerate church, on the other by Puritanical fanaticism. There were dreams of democracy, but realized chiefly in unstable mobs. There was political power, but it was madly ambitious and selfish. The enthusiasms of the new age were sublime, but, ungoverned by reason, ran wild. However, the new visions and the creative genius of the artists in the period of the Italian Renaissance are the most important lessons as we face a new world with its startling possibilities.

The "superior race" theory, because so prominent in the preface, and because so fateful in today's history, should be noted.

Gobineau made race the determining element in progress. The primacy belongs to the white races, and especially to the Teutonic peoples (including the Celts and Slavs). The feudal German tribes of the Middle Ages were the best type. Since the invasion of Rome, the Teutons have led. In France and Italy the Teutonic elements have always been superior. Latins and Semites take second place. Chamberlain, though denying it, undoubtedly largely adopts these ideas. Though English, he surpasses the Germans in tributes to the race. No wonder Gobineau and Chamberlain are approved in Germany. Naturally Gobineau was an aristocrat and as such hated revolutions, reformations, democracy, socialism, liberalism. He had seen some evils in the Protestant Reformation, and was impressed by the worst evils of the French Revolution. Later history might have changed his view of democracy. Dr. Levy joins in the refrain against democracy—the enemy of all society. As there are superior races, there are superior families. Democracy preserves the weak,

and hampers the best, and decadence is the result. Progress means keeping down the lower elements, and giving place to the aristocratic. Levy rejoices in the Renaissance as the age of no equality, the age of "the best, the intelligent, the charming, the brave, the proud, the beautiful," the age when popes, kings, and statesmen were self-masters. Gobineau is, at least formally, Christian. Chamberlain makes the essence of Christianity one of the four great contributions of the past to the present, the others being: Greek art and poetry, Roman law, and Teutonic genius. On the contrary, Levy assails Christianity in unlimited terms. Incidentally, Levy is Anti-German and Pro-Semitic.

The race theory may be overdone, from the standpoint of science and history, and, as seen, it may lead to abnormal pride or even madness. Italy, "mongrel," France largely so, are showing a national character of surpassing quality. It would be difficult to prove that their greatness is due to Teutonic blood. Roman civilization has profoundly influenced the world. Our

English and American race and language are Anglo-Latin. We are approaching the time when the genius of every nation, the great among all peoples shall be justly recognized, and race insanity will cease to vex the world. We have seen the evils of the old aristocracy, whether of heritage or wealth or superficial culture; we are looking for an aristocracy of the best in worth and work and influence. We want no unjust inequality and no false equality. "Democracy is not based on equality but justice. Democracy is a method of selecting aristocracy. Lincoln and Wilson are better exponents of national ideals than the race theorists. Christianity doesn't teach equality; there is no equality between Dives and Lazarus, Pharisees and Publicans." We shall have great souls, but they will not be tyrant, robber, or pedant souls; they will be souls of great visions, great culture, and great virtues.

In his Renaissance Gobineau treats history justly. His pages reveal in clear light men, classes, parties, creeds, conditions,

ideas, and ideals—and there is something appealingly human in all his characters. We see the free play of all the ideas and forces of an awakened but unorganized world—its uncontrolled ambitions; its dreams of freedom, and violations of human rights; its efforts at order and its political chaos; its dark crimes and its resplendent virtues. He depicts with masterly hand the artist geniuses who aimed to create a new heaven and a new earth. As he predicts, the Italy of the Renaissance does not wholly die; it leaves a blessed heritage, not only of art, but of creative enthusiasm. If we today have not a revival of the past we have a revelation in the present—opening to our view a new world.

Historic Interest

"The Renaissance" is a historic drama in five parts by Count Arthur de Gobineau, French writer and diplomat, 1816-1882. It covers a period of seventy-five years, from 1489 when Savonarola began preaching in

Florence to the death of Michelangelo, 1564. Count de Gobineau was a fertile author, having written among other things "The Inequality of Human Races," and the "Pleiades" in which his view of the "Superman" is not unlike that of Nietzsche. But "The Renaissance" is the most noted of his works and can be reviewed independently of the others, except for the light thrown by them on his aristocratic views.

A drama may be studied for its natural human quality, its artistic merit and gems of thought and expression, its wisdom, or its historic and philosophic value. The last is the chief ground of interest in Gobineau's group of plays. The great problems of civilization are those of aristocracy and democracy, individualism and socialism, paganism and Christianity; and upon these questions Gobineau offers an abundance of material in fairness and with a reasonable adherence to historic truth—all embodying the very spirit of the intense world dramas staged in Italy during its most productive period. Today, as never

before, we are seeking a social philosophy. We study mass psychology in great movements—the Athenian development, the French Revolution. The Italian Renaissance, the new birth of the intellect, favorable to great visions of beauty and truth, and of power, a period of spiritual freedom and moral license, reveals every phase of human nature and all problems of society.

Aristocracy. Pagan Virtues

The introduction to the English edition of the plays by Dr. Oscar Levy for several reasons cannot be ignored. Dr. Levy advances a philosophy which I believe to be false and pernicious, the depth of whose implications is fully disclosed by the present struggle of the nations. With rather too much assurance he claims Gobineau for his school of thought, and offers opinions which cannot be fairly inferred from the plays. Moreover we are studying this drama partly for the light thrown on the questions so summarily treated by the editor—which are the world questions

today. Dr. Levy is so much of the aristocrat and pagan that at the name of Christianity or Democracy he all but froths at the mouth. Democracy, as he sees it, is the enemy of all government and all society; the ideals of the present lead to the survival of the unfit. There is to be a decision on the battle field between the opposing ideas of aristocracy and democracy. There is to be a new renaissance, banishing superstition and repressing popular tendencies. It is unfortunate, to his view, that the spirit of the Renaissance, with its noble ideals, was broken by the Reformation. The motives of modern morality are to be despised. He sums up the pagan virtues as "energy, bravery, daring, strength of character, power of endurance, power of attacking, power of overcoming;" and the Christian virtues as "harmlessness, absence of faults and vices, negative virtue, female virtue, commercial sharpness and cleverness, mediocrity." He says that Gobineau stood for pagan goodness. "To Christian resignation he opposed his pagan dignity, to Christian

humility self-respect, to tame forgiveness stoical forbearance or contempt, and to the passive and feminine virtues of faith, hope, and love, the antagonistic, active, and manly virtues of deed, daring, and bravery in thought as well as action." Some of his epithets are question-begging, and the characterization of the ancient and the modern ethics is partly unfair, yet his definition of the author's position is partly correct. But the spirit of fairness with which Gobineau treats Christian and pagan in this great work casts a doubt on the extreme claims of the editor.

Undoubtedly in some form the world will always have an aristocracy. But the question today, vital to civilization, is whether it must take on the form of autocracy and the military state, or whether it will be an influential and generous leadership of the best, dominated by the modern humanitarian spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Whatever the superior class may be, it cannot interfere with the progress of democracy which, after a hundred years of struggle since the Napoleonic overthrow

and after a hundreds years of thinking, has become intelligent and strong, and today appears to be in form and spirit the rational and inevitable type of social organization. Two great truths will be learned from this world-wide war—efficiency and democracy. The military state must go and the mighty forces of science be turned to the constructive work of peace; on the other hand the democratic state must become efficient, administratively, industrially, socially, and the lesson is being written in words of blood. The hope of efficient democracy is even now in process of realization in this country by a union of the forces of learning and science with government and philanthropy. Historic Christianity deserves some of the contempt shown by philosophers of the Levy type, and the Greek virtues have a philosophic basis which fact was recognized by the Christian fathers. But modern Christianity adopts them with the richness of content added by ages of human experience and stands forth today free, natural, strong, cheerful, and militant for

good. Christianity stands for two eternal principles—the only hope of humanity and the only remedy for the present failure of civilization—namely universal good will and the fact that good is found in the good of others. It remains to add that, when individualism becomes rampant and amounts to anarchy—high-class or low-class political license—it invites its own destruction; when it becomes romanticism—soul-license—it has led in notable instances to the cloister, the asylum, or to suicide. The greatest lesson of history is that culture must have a moral backbone.

Character of "The Renaissance"

The names of the five plays of the Renaissance not only mark successive periods but they are suggestive of the age: *Savonarola*—Christianity in its Puritan form; *Caesar Borgia*—power at any cost; *Pope Julius II*—energy, ambition, dominion, and the patronage of art; *Pope Leo X*—Medician politics and character, and the patronage of literature; ***Michel-***

angelo—the artistic, the sane and true, spirit of the Renaissance. The author records that the age began in freedom of spirit and progress and ended in reaction and decadence. It is evident that Gobineau admires the strong man, whether a Savonarola or a Borgia, an Angelo or a Julius II, that he distrusts the people and is tolerant of the doctrine of success. Indeed his ideal seems to have been the German tribes of the Middle Ages, and he hated democratic France and modern Germany. Tocqueville charged that he made two classes of mankind—the conquerors and the vanquished. He was by nature and theory an aristocrat and probably preferred the pagan to the Christian virtues—contrasting the strongest of the pagan with the weakest of the Christian.

Each of his plays may be viewed as a series of group pictures of events and the time-spirit, not much more suited for the stage than Plato's Dialogues, but representing tragic scenes with something of the effect of the Greek Chorus. The ideas are keen, the style rich, events are clearly

depicted, the age is vividly portrayed, and men of genius and power are characterized with spirit. We have the contrast of a rigid Christianity with the mad joy of the reawakened intellect; the splendors of the new art; rich poetic tributes to the surpassing genius of Raphael and Michelangelo; the fickleness of the mob, the hopelessness of democracy, and the futility of extreme ideals; and finally the reaction under Charles V and the later popes, and the decadence of art.

Dramatic Power

Dramatic form is not lacking. A scene in the Milan Cathedral, in which vices, schemes, petty incidents, mingled with the nobler motives and deeper emotions, are voiced and made to interline the responses to the service, is handled with the skill of the best modern playwright.

Second Canon. Are you dining with us at the Archbishop's?

Third Canon. I am! We shall have a most superb trout!

Second Canon. It will not be eatable if that idiot of a Fra Lorenzo does not make haste and finish his mass. *(To a choir boy).* Go tell Fra Lorenzo to hurry up.

Choir Boy (*to the officiating priest*). The Prior, Dom Paolo, begs you to finish quickly.

Fra Lorenzo. What is he troubling about? *I* am not dining at the Archbishop's. Attention, fool! *Dominus vobiscum!*

First Citizen (*at a side chapel*). *Et benedictus fructus ventris tui*—that doesn't prevent the rascal's having gone off without paying for the three dinners he owes me.

Second Citizen. Qui es in coelis, sanctificetur!—I told you so fifty times. Deuce take them, the students!—If they were to pay, they would no longer be students!

Notary (*to his wife*). Haven't you had enough of your devotions? Make haste!

Wife. I am tucking up my skirts so as not to be jostled.

Notary. Say rather that you are trying to make yourself noticed!

Wife. I am going to take some holy water.

Cavalier. Will you permit me, madam, to offer you some?

Wife. Most willingly, signor—*(Very low)* come at two o'clock.

Notary. Who is the gentleman who gave you holy water?

Wife. I don't know; I have never seen him before.

Again, a meeting between Raphael and a lady in a garden in Rome—"Cypresses, banks of rose trees, a marble bench, amid grasses and flowers, behind the bench an antique statue of Venus." Here are passages that would adorn the conventional love scene, but also a love of each for the genius, ideas, and character of the other, constituting a poem rising to sublime heights.

Raphael. Am I of a mind so base as to remark in you nothing but the fire of your great splendid eyes, the soft roundness and brilliance of your cheeks, the half-open pomegranate of your lips and the suppleness of that incomparable figure? Do not

believe it! I understand also, and at least as well, how noble and generous is your soul, and to what a point rises that intellect, so justly compared by more than one poet to the bold flight of the bird which bears Jupiter into the bosom of the empyrean.

Lady. You are the man of that which has blossomed, of that which is ripe. You do not feel inclined to take a lyre to pieces to find in its sonorous interior the precise spot where the sound is formed.—In that adored head reigns light, dazzling and omnipresent. Truth can be seen there without difficulty, and error finds no place for its shadows.—You are like a brook, that, as it runs over the pebbles, casts before the echoes the pearls of its laughter.—Your prerogative, my Raphael, is to be happy! Happiness spread her rose-colored veil above your mother's bed at the moment of your birth.—I am not astonished to see you express candor, virtue, innocence, and charm so well. Evil has been forbidden to come near you.

In another place Raphael expresses his

memory for his lost Beatrice thus: "The love that joined us burns in me like a lamp lighted from the torch of immortality."

And on the Pincian Hill of a lovely afternoon are boys and girls, verses, stories, like the best in Boccaccio.

Boy (reading).

Star of my heaven, sorceress divine,
Thine eyes, where fires by love enkindled play,
Thy lips, fair fruit to tempt the God of Wine,
Thy brow, as pure as is the dawn of day—

Then the deep tragic notes—the sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V, told with the terrible detail of Tolstoy's "Sebastopol;" the dramatic horror of the death by poison of Pope Alexander VI, by which the deed aimed at the Cardinals recoiled on himself; the terrible interview of Alexander VI with his daughter Lucretia, when the pope justifies in the name of ambition Caesar Borgia's, her brother's, murder of her husband. When

Lucretia shows defiance, the pope replies: "That is how I love to see you, and now I recognize you! The little middle-class widow has disappeared! It is the Queen, the Sovereign who speaks! My daughter, you are at this moment as beautiful as Pride! You are strength itself." The scene is significant because throughout we have the philosophy of unscrupulous ambition, and a horrible picture of a type of superman.

Christianity

To present scenes from the plays is impossible for lack of space. Some of the chief ideas of the Renaissance, extracted here and there and classified in a way, serve a better purpose. The condition of Italy, religious, political, and social, is accurately shown by Savonarola together with the Puritan view of the new learning and art; Macchiavelli makes a worldly estimate of Savonarola's failure, and expresses his growing belief that the social order may be saved by the ambition of a Borgia; then

follows a philosophy in a sentence, pregnant with meaning for the culture problem of today in school and society.

Savonarola (S. 4-5). Italy is full to bursting of unbridled adventurers, of upstart princes, of hireling soldiers, of tyrants of cities, despots of castles, rebel peasants, quarrelsome burgesses, joined by the wolves that come to us in packs from Spain and France. Faith! The clergy reck naught of it. The cardinals rend it. The Pope—I will not tell you what he is, you know too well. And they have only too powerful an aid in those other vipers, the scholars, drunk with the pride of having learnt to read in the new-found books of Greece and Rome. The brush comes to join the pen, and with the brush the chisel and the engraver's tool. The love of art—really nothing but the shameful appetite for vice.

Savonarola, in a Sermon (S. 57). Will you find excuses for the simoniacal, libidinous, adulterous, drunken, thieving priests who, from the See of St. Peter down to the humblest confessional of the humblest

parish, draw you after them on their road to perdition?

Macchiavelli (S. 88-90). He (Savonarola) had built up for himself a poem of religion, purity, honor, wisdom, uprightness. Poor Girolamo! To suppose that purity is anything but a mere abstraction, a special attribute of some few isolated souls! I now bid an everlasting farewell to the illusions by which I was once spellbound. I should not be surprised if we were some day saved by the corrupt cleverness and audacity of Caesar Borgia!— Shrewd and cunning as the dragon, treacherous as the leopard, ambitious as the eagle.

An Augustinian, to a Dominican (Leo X 249-50). A brilliant assembly of wits, poets, artists, ladies, prelates, and lords is assembling today. They are preparing to celebrate a sacrifice to the goddess Venus, with doves, milk, flowers, sonnets, madrigals, strings of Sapphic and Adonic verses in Greek, Latin and the vulgar tongue.

Dominican. How scandalous! It is clear

that the ancient paganism, aided by universal degradation, is again taking hold of us on all sides.

Bibbiena (265). Every cultivated society is a corrupt society.

Of course no solution is here offered for the modern questions of autocracy in government, of ideal reform, of the worth of middle-class morality, of a partial return to the freedom of the Greek life, of the value of culture in education and refinement in society. But all these things are staged in spot lights and make vivid and lasting impressions—material for thought.

Democracy

Macchiavelli expresses in satire the view of democracy which runs throughout the plays, the limited view of his period, with which the author is in evident sympathy.

Macchiavelli, in Florence (M. A. 312-14). What a noise! How they bellow! What sparkling eyes! How the word liberty intoxicates them! The bird lives in the air,

the fish in the water, and the mob in noise—An excellent notion! Go and burn the tennis-court! Without that, liberty would never be established.—Look at Benvenuto. He is enjoying himself now like a god; he does not believe a word of what he is bawling, and cares as much for the liberty of Florence as for that of Abyssinia; but he is enjoying himself, and that is the chief thing.

Power

The mad struggle for power without moral direction, and the fierce ambition, natural to an age stimulated by new visions, are graphically described. The resentful passion of the populace, the failure of extreme individualism, recognized we would fain believe by the author, are the complement of the picture.

Pope Alexander VI to his son, Caesar Borgia (C. B. 137). The grandeur of your schemes, the daring of your resolutions, give strength to my will. Tomorrow Rome will learn the names of the cardinals who

are to die tonight. It is a bold stroke but necessary. We must strike terror into our enemies.

Alexander VI to Lucrezia (S. 61-67). He (Caesar Borgia) is a ruler who could not enter his destined sphere but at the price of the most sustained and sometimes the most pitiless efforts. Troubling but little about means and restraining ourselves but little in action, we are free from the most oppressive bonds which paralyze other men. Simply do what you please, but only so far as likewise suits your interests.

Caesar Borgia (C. B. 123). They say I am a dragon. I am a monster if you will, but one that rends and devours monsters.

Ludovico, on Pope Alexander VI (S. 11). He knows no faith, no law, no religion, no scruple, no mercy, and has but one interest in the world, that of the house of Borgia.

Duchess, Widow of the Duke Giovanni Borgia, on Caesar Borgia (C. B. 158-60). May God pardon him—pardon his crimes! There are few in the unhappy nature of man with which he is not soiled. I have never known in him either a hesitation

about wrong doing or a temptation to repent. He has never until this hour grasped the soul virtue of Hell—the certainty that God will win the day. Our house issued from crime, has been carried on by crime, wallowed in crime, borne away by the most furious, the frothiest, the muddiest waves of crime, and behold it now cast down!

The Dominican, to the Duchess. There is evil, there is good, and good gains the upper hand.

Dona Isabella, Daughter of the Duchess. God is so great! Evil—it is so trifling a thing!

The crowd on the Death of Pope Alexander VI (C. B. 142). He is dead! The devil take his soul! Hell is afraid of him!

Cardinal Soderini (C. B. 144). All the demons who possessed Alexander seem to have escaped from his corpse only to assail us more easily. Murder, pillage, arson, crimes, outrages, nothing is wanting!

Julius II (Jul. 161-6). These ruins, these impure undergrowths, are the hallowed remains of a magnificent past! I wish to transmute them into a paradise as

fair as that of Holy Scripture. I shall spare neither violence nor scruples! Virtue only consists in success.

Agostini Chigi on Julius II (Jul. 206). He has no age, he is purely an inextinguishable fire of energy. From this fire come whirls of flame and sparks and smoke.

Il Bramante, on Julius II (Jul. 185, 188). He looks on human beings as nothing but tortoises; the terrestrial globe does not turn rapidly enough on its axis, and everywhere, over all, and for everyone, he would fain double and treble the movement. Julius II has not enough arms, legs, hearts, and heads to employ for what he wishes to carry out.

Art

The great virtue of the Renaissance appears in its art which to the exalted imagination of the period was able as it were to "refashion the universe."

Torrigiani, in Botticelli's Studio (S. 53-4). By Bacchus, do you think the delights of the world are made to be tram-

pled underfoot? Am I to go with your monk and burn the new books so as to quench with their cinders the renascent flame of the intellect? You are idiots, apes of unwholesome perfection, monsters of absurdity. You consider it a fine thing to burn good pictures and to begin once more, as you did fifty years ago, painting women like spindles. You think it very grand to be in rags and to weep from morning till night like a rainspout, without anyone having an idea why? Art is the sole virtue, the sole greatness, the sole truth.

Lucrezia, to Cardinal Bembo (Jul. 229). There is nothing great in this world but the love of art, the love of things in the intellect, the love of those whom one loves.

Second Citizen (Leo X 248). My son shall be a sculptor and dine with the Pope.

Raphael (Jul. 211-12). We swim, we artists, in an Olympian empyrean. And the scholars, the poets, the men of letters, the antiquaries, the painters, the sculptors, the architects, the engravers, the intaglio workers, the illuminators, all that has become capable of expressing a thought,

heaps effects upon effects, and weathers all these storms with the light of genius on its brow, a smile on its lips, and its work in its hands. The universe transmuted by our hands will be refashioned.

Granacci, to Michelangelo (Leo X 235-6). The arts have never been so flourishing! Never have such beautiful works been brought to light! How many illustrious, nay, superhuman painters, sculptors, architects! Of scholars, of poets, of writers there is no lack. New ones are continually arising. Pope Leo X and his cardinals appear to my intoxicated imagination as the equals of great Jove and the gods of the Pantheon. It is we artists who have created the firmanent, it is we who embellish it, illuminating it every hour with glorious tints, making it shine with dazzling stars. The Pope is the most enthusiastic patron of art ever known.

Michelangelo (C. B. 153-4). Do you not know that it is by frenzy, rage, indignation, violence that men climb up to heaven? Form for yourself some fiery resolve. Nothing but work and the intoxication of

creating can give life savor. In itself life is worth nothing! . . . . God ought to suppress the princes, captains, podestàs who devour one another. It is true, however, that we should then fall into the hands of the populace, the foulest beast that ever crawled the ground. Have you ever known a man of no birth to become a good artist?

Michelangelo, to his servant Urbino (Leo X 275). She (my wife) is here at my side, looking at me with her great beautiful eyes; she pushes my arm and says to me Work, Michelangelo, work for your glory and mine! And she shows me a bit of green leaf that she has in her hand — a laurel. I can create, my spirit is free, I am happy. The hard bosom of the marble opens — the living head begins to appear — white, white, it palpitates beneath the chisel that sets free its features one by one. Out of the material they spring — they speak.

Reaction and Decadence

Then come the reaction and decadence.

Moncada, Imperial Ambassador, to Pope Clement VII (M. A. 304). He (Pope Leo

X) was occupied with nothing but statues, pictures, books, verses, banquets, and amusements. Caesar resolved to stay the disorderly career of the age and lead men's erring consciences back to religion.

Constable de Bourbon (M. A. 295). There is no such thing as justice! It is a hollow word, an odious mockery! There are only bloody necessities, the reason for which we cannot imagine; their source remains eternally hidden. In our days there are no more princes, no more noblemen, in a word no more men, for the title of prince and nobleman only served in former times to denote those who were more of men than the rest.

Macchiavelli (M. A. 319). I fancied that an able man like the Duke of Valentinois could create a noble kingdom, endow it with wise laws and good ordinances, send the foreigners back to their homes—in short, that there was still something to be desired. — *(To Michelangelo).* You are all great men, you and your friends; but when you have disappeared, as you soon will, there will remain only your imitators, who

will imitate you badly; and then will come the apes, who will transform your heavenward flights into ludicrous gambols; then it will be all over with your work.

Macchiavelli (M. A. 315). We (Italians) are dotards, exhausted by the unmeasured fury of every passion; rich, to be plundered; clever, to be made to work; famous, to be robbed of our glory; learned to have knowledge sucked out and transmitted elsewhere.

Federigo, in the studio of the Zuccheri, Rome (M. A. 338). There are artists for you! Fast and furious, that's a potent maxim!

Taddeo (339). A cardinal will very likely say: Come to my house, you will see there a unique painting; admirable subject! execution full of fire! It is an ape sitting astride a unicorn and biting into a peach.

A Final Scene

One goes back again and again to the final scene, that between Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna, full of nobility, sweet-

ness, and sadness. Vittoria here shows her exalted character, she whom "sorrow and solitude have counseled to nobler efforts," whom "difficulties have forced to redouble her strength," whose "soul is at the summit of greatness." Michelangelo is pathetically conscious of his old age—"a being weighted with years, putting forward his withered and trembling fingers, not without difficulty, to the blaze of the fire," yet speaking of himself as one who has "become young only in his old days." He retains his faith in the immortality of the spirit. Vittoria says to him "You are weary of life?" He replies, "On the contrary, I am greedy of life, I am athirst for complete freedom of spirit. It is not death that I feel coming but life." He is reminiscent of the greatness of Italy, of the notable friends who have gone before, pitifully conscious of the departed glories, yet hopeful of Italy's legacy to the future.

Michelangelo. Italy left Savonarola's hands and remained in those of vice. Now all is over. The fire has gone out. Italy exists no more. The artists have perished.

I am the last survivor of the holy company. There have been beautiful spirits, glorious spirits in this Italy, she that is henceforward enslaved and prostrate. I do not regret having lived.—We are bequeathing a great legacy, great examples—The earth is richer than it was before our coming—What is to disappear will not disappear altogether—The fields can rest and remain fallow for a while; the seed is in the clods. The fog may spread and the gray and watery sky become covered with mist and rain; but the sun is above—Who knows what will come again?

Michelangelo. I am 89 years old, Marchioness, and my emotion tires me a little; we have talked of very serious matters this evening. Good bye!

Marchioness. Till tomorrow, is it not?

Michelangelo. Yes, till tomorrow—if I am still of this world—if I am not, till we meet again!

Conclusion

Truly a magnificent period, depicted by Gobineau in bold outlines, suggestive of a

thousand dramas. It is a new Greece, a sunrise on the Adriatic recalling the glory of a noonday and sunset on the Aegean. In this period every human passion was turned loose, the powers of darkness as well as of light. Through it and from it have come precious seeds of civilization. Through Gobineau's "Renaissance" we are shown some of the summits of humanity—heights toward which the aristocrats, the best, in all ages must aspire.

Who will be the coming aristocrats? In the plays the aristocrats are the men of great minds, the geniuses who made Italy's art, the bold spirits who had dreams of power. In this period the soul took the highest flights since the Athenian glory; the author traces its circling in the empyrean; he exults in its freedom. He understood the exalted Pagan mind of Greece, of Italy, of the German forest; he failed to grasp the great adventure for the Holy Grail.

The aristocrat in spirit will be a Christianized Greek, a democratized autocrat, a humanized humanist—a scholastic prig

turned good fellow. He will be a devotee of the "research magnificent"—to know and to help humanity. He will seek to establish a republic of co-thinkers and co-workers for great causes.

We have today, not a revival of the past, but a revelation in the present, surpassing the dream of the Renaissance. And we may hope that the purpose awakened will not evaporate in enthusiasm or die out after the first burst of energy. We face the perilous vicissitudes of the time, taught by centuries of political and social experiment, guided by scientific knowledge, united by common interests, with reasoned plans and aims. We shall make our dreams come true.

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